The University Tutorial Series.

TACITUS:

ANNALS, BOOK I.

EDITED BY

W. F. MASOM, M.A. LOND.,

FIRST CLASS HONOURMAN IN CLASSICS, UNIVERSITY EXHIBITIONER.
EDITOR OF LIVY III., V., HERODOTUS VI., ETC.,

AND

C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. OXON.,

HONOURMAN IN HISTORY AND CLASSICS (FIRST CLASS).

LONDON: W. B. CLIVE,
THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL PRESS,
(*University Correspondence College Press.*)
13 BOOKSELLERS ROW, STRAND, W.C.

Editions of Latin and Greek Classics.

(INTRODUCTION, TEXT, AND NOTES.)

AESCHYLUS—Persae, 3/6; Prometheus, 2/6; Septem Contra Thebas, 3/6.

ARISTOPHANES—Ranae, 3/6.

CAESAR—Gallic War, Bks. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (each) 1/6; Gallic War, Bk. 1, Ch. 1-29, 1/6; Gallic War, Bk. 7, 2/6; Gallic War, Bk. 7, Ch. 1-68, 1/6; Invasion of Britain (IV. 20-V. 23), 2/6.

CICERO—Ad Atticum, Bk. 4, 3/6; De Amicitia, 1/6; De Finibus, Bk. 1, 2/6; De Finibus, Bk. 2, 3/6; De Officiis, Bk. 3, 3/6; Pro Cluentio, 3/6; Pro Milone, 3/6; Pro Plancio, 2/6; De Senectute, In Catilinam I., Pro Archia, Pro Balbo, Pro Marcello, (each Book) 1/6.

DEMOSTHENES—Androtion, 4/6; Meidias, 5/0.

EURIPIDES—Alcestis, 3/6; Andromache, 3/6; Bacchae, 3/6; Hecuba, 3/6; Hippolytus, 3/6.

HERODOTUS—Bk. 3, 4/6; Bk. 6, 2/6; Bk. 8, 3/6.

HOMER—Iliad, Bk. 6, 1/6; Iliad, Bk. 24, 3/6; Odyssey, Bks. 9, 10, 2/6; Odyssey, Bks. 11, 12, 2/6; Odyssey, Bks. 13, 14, 2/6; Odyssey, Bk. 17, 1/6.

HORACE—Epistles, 3/6; Epodes, 1/6; Odes, 3/6; Odes, (each Book) 1/6; Satires, 4/6.

ISOCRATES—De Bigis, 2/6.

JUVENAL—Satires, 1, 3, 4, 3/6; Satires, 8, 10, 13, 2/6; Satires, 11, 13, 14, 3/6.

LIVY—Bks. 1, 5, 21, (each) 2/6; Bks. 3, 6, 9 (each), 3/6; Bk. 21, Ch. 1-30, 1/6; Bk. 22, Ch. 1-51, 2/6.

LUCIAN—Charon and Timon, 3/6.

LYSIAS—Eratosthenes and Agoratus, 3/6.

NEPOS—Hannibal, Cato, Atticus, 1/0.

OVID—Fasti, Bks. 3, 4, 2/6; Heroides, 1, 5, 12, 1/6; Metamorphoses, Bk. 1, 1-150, Bks. 1, 11, 13, 14, (each) 1/6; Tristia, Bks. 1, 3, (each Book) 1/6.

PLATO—Apology, Ion, Laches, Phaedo, (each) 3/6.

SALLUST—Catiline, 2/6.

SOPHOCLES—Ajax, 3/6; Antigone, 2/6; Electra, 3/6.

TACITUS—Annals, Bk. 1, 3/6; Annals, Bk. 2, 2/6; Histories, Bk. 1., 3/6.

TERENCE—Adelphi, 3/6.

THUCYDIDES—Bk. 7, 3/6.

VERGIL—Aeneid, Books 1-12, (each) 1/6; Eclogues, 3/6; Georgics, Bks. 1, 2, 3/6.

XENOPHON—Anabasis, Bk. 1, 1/6; Anabasis, Bk. 4, 3/6; Cyropaedeia, Bk. 1, 3/6; Hellenica, Bk. 3, 3/6; Hellenica, Bk. 4, 3/6; Oeconomicus, 4/6.

The University Tutorial Series.

CLASSICAL EDITOR: B. J. HAYES, M.A.

TACITUS:
ANNALS, BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Life of Tacitus.** The name, date of birth, birthplace, and family rank of the last great Roman historian are involved in obscurity. His *nomen*, or name derived from his *gens*, was Cornelius, but it is still doubtful whether his *praenomen* was Gaius or Publius; and that his birthplace was Interamna only rests on the fact that thence sprang the Emperor Tacitus. But the opinion is now generally held that he was born between A.D. 50 and A.D. 55, of a family which, whether equestrian or senatorial, was possessed of considerable influence in the state. In his youth he underwent the rhetorical training customary with Romans of rank, and acquired considerable reputation as an orator. He must have shown great promise at an early age, for in A.D. 78 he married the daughter of the greatest general of the time, Julius Agricola. About A.D. 80, in the reign of Vespasian, he entered on his career of office by obtaining the quaestorship, a dignity which gave him a seat in the senate. The aedileship and praetorship followed in due course, and in A.D. 88, as one of the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, he superintended the management of the secular games. The next year he left Rome, probably to assume some command in the provinces. It has been surmised that Germany was the scene of his labours, and that during this time he gained the information which he incorporated in the *Germania*. At the end of four years he returned to Rome. The reign of terror of Domitian was then at its height, and the position of Tacitus, as a senator, was consequently a most embarrassing one. He escaped with his life, though

passages of his writings testify to shame and regret at his share in the servile proceedings of the senate. A brighter time came with the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96, and in the succeeding year he attained the highest dignity, with one exception, which the state could offer him, and became the emperor's colleague in the consulship. In A.D. 100, in conjunction with Pliny the Younger, he successfully impeached Marius Priscus, who had been guilty of gross oppression during his government of Africa. This is the last public act recorded of him. Henceforth he appears to have lived in retirement, a devoted student of Roman history. The date of his death is as problematical as that of his birth; but he can hardly have survived for long Trajan, who died A.D. 117, and he may have ended his days some time previously.

§ 2. **His Works.**—The earliest of Tacitus' writings is the *Dialogus de Oratoribus.* The plan is similar to that pursued by Cicero in his philosophical works. Three distinguished orators of the day, Curiatius Maternus, Aper Secundus, and Vipstanus Messala, meet to discuss the comparative value of the great pleaders of the Republic and of the Empire. It is admitted that Cicero stands pre-eminent; but the oratory of later times is defended on the grounds that eloquence like that of Cicero can only be found amid confusion and anarchy, and that where order and good government prevail, oratory must of necessity bear a tamer character. His next work, the *Agricola,* must have appeared in A.D. 97 or A.D. 98. The hero of this unrivalled piece of biography is of course the famous warrior of the last decades of the first century, who, after extending the Roman dominions in Britain to their utmost limits (A.D. 78 to 85), returned to Rome only to be poisoned by the command of Domitian. The *Germania,* written about A.D. 98, is a description of the physical characteristics of Germany, and of the military, social, and political condition of the tribes by which it was inhabited. Tacitus found much to praise in the purity of their social relations, the respect paid to the marriage tie, the kindly feeling which existed between master and slave: in such cases he draws the contrast of Roman manners

with no flattering hand. With this work ends what has been called the Sallustian or biographical period of Tacitus. His next effort, the *Histories*, deals with a greater subject—the history of Rome from the death of Nero to that of Domitian. It thus described thirty years of such anarchy, tyranny, and military violence as can have rarely disgraced the annals of any other nation. Of its fourteen books the greater number have disappeared; the first four and part of the fifth alone remain. To supplement this, he went farther back into the depths of antiquity, and wrote his masterpiece the *Annales*. Here he traces the destinies of Rome under the Claudian dynasty. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, are all pourtrayed from the oligarchical point of view, and even their good deeds are often distorted, perhaps unconsciously, by the prejudices of the historian. The *Annals* once consisted of fourteen books, covering a period of fifty-four years (A.D. 14 to A.D. 68); but extensive gaps now occur, most of Book V. and the whole of Books VII. to X. being lost. The missing portions contained an account of two critical years of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 29, 30), the whole of that of Caligula (A.D. 37 to 41), the first six years of Claudius (A.D. 41 to 47), and the last three of Nero (A.D. 65 to 68). This completes the list of works actually executed by Tacitus: his announced intention of being the historian of Augustus and of Nerva and Trajan being unfortunately never carried out.

§ 3. **His Authorities.**—As Tacitus is the greatest and almost sole authority for the history of the early Empire—for of the others, Velleius Paterculus was a vile flatterer, Suetonius a purveyor of scandalous gossip, and Dion Cassius too late in point of time to be an independent authority—it is important to see what sources of information were open to him. The Empire had acted as a deterrent on the production of history, but had not altogether crushed it; and Pliny wrote his general history, while Cluvius Rufus, Fabius Rusticus, Domitius Corbulo, and Vipstanus Messala narrated detached periods. To all of these Tacitus acknowledges his obligations. Whether he consulted Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Seneca the

rhetor, and others, can scarcely be decided; but although he does not mention them by name, he probably availed himself of their work. In addition to these there were *Memoirs* like those of Agrippina the Younger, not too flattering, as may be imagined, to the imperial house—funeral panegyrics of eminent men, and letters similar to those of the younger Pliny. Another mine of information might be found in the *Acta Senatus*, a record of the proceedings of the senate, and the *Acta Populi*, which related in the barest detail the current news, and described cases in the courts of law. Moreover, when we consider the date of Tacitus' birth, it is evident that he may have gleaned many facts by word of mouth. It is quite possible that he was acquainted with persons who had both seen and known Tiberius, the earliest of the emperors whose acts and policy he describes. For the motives of particular acts, and for the character of particular persons (*e.g.*, I. 9, 10), he is wont to refer to common talk as his authority; but in epitomizing this his own bias may generally be seen. Not infrequently he gives varieties of fact or opinion (*e.g.*, Bk. I., chs. 29, 53, 76, 80).

§ 4. **The Roman State in A.D. 14.**—(1) **The Principate.** When Augustus died he left the imperial organization so firmly established that its main features were destined to exist without alteration for centuries. Theoretically the old republican constitution was still in force, and the **Emperor** was merely first among the citizens: in reality a combination of offices and powers rendered him supreme, and converted into a farce the part which senate and people took in the government. The *proconsulare imperium*, first bestowed on Augustus by the senate in B.C. 27, made him absolute master of the military forces throughout the empire. It rendered his commands binding, even over the governors of senatorial provinces; it enabled him to conclude peace and to declare war; to impose and collect taxes by means of his officers. It gave him, in short, for a period of ten years, afterwards prolonged, the power over the entire empire which a pro-consul in republican times had wielded over his province for a single year. The

tribunicia potestas gave him all the privileges and powers of a tribune without the rank, for which his patrician birth disqualified him. Just like the tribune of the republic, he was authorized to put his veto on any motion made in the senate, to protect condemned persons from the magistrates, and, if he so desired, to assemble the people and propose laws to the comitia. This latter privilege, however, was given him by his *potestas consularis*, which also enabled him to preside in the senate, and to initiate legislation therein—in short, to wield the legislative and administrative powers possessed by the consuls. His dignity of *princeps senatus* was of a different nature. It conferred no powers on him, and only made him the first of the senators, but it gave him the right of declaring his *sententia* first, and this would have great weight with a servile assembly (cf. I., ch. 74). The *censoria potestas* invested him with the attributes of a censor without the title. He was thus able to enforce legislation on morals and manners, to eject unworthy members from the senatorial or equestrian orders when revising the census-lists, to exclude whomsoever he pleased from the jury-rolls. Lastly, as *pontifex maximus* the Emperor constituted himself the head of the state religion, with legal priority in all sacred matters, and with the control of the auspices, reform, and direction of religious worship. The combination of these authorities rendered him as supreme in judicial cases as he was in military, administrative, and religious matters; for the *imperium* conferred on him the power of life and death, his right of bringing matters before the senate and of speaking first enabled him to carry what verdict he pleased in a trial before the senate, the *censoria potestas* gave him the control of the jury lists, and he could veto anything and everything by the *tribunicia potestas*. (See Allcroft and Haydon's *Early Principate*, Chap. V.)

(2) **The Senate.**—It will be evident from this review of the emperor's position, that the power of the **Senate** had undergone a great diminution from republican times. Its military authority and its control of foreign relations were assumed by the Emperor, and it was always liable to be overawed by the troops at the latter's disposal. The policy of

Augustus and his successors, with regard to the senate, was quite different from that of Julius Cæsar. Augustus treated the senate with invariable deference. He kept its numbers within due limits. He improved its status by ejecting men of scandalous lives, and by allowing those who were too poor to bear the expenses of their rank to withdraw. With it rested the formal choice of an emperor; it decreed the honours of a triumph, and its enactments on domestic matters were promulgated as of old. Augustus shared with it the government of the provinces, giving it jurisdiction over such as did not require the presence of an armed force, and consequently the exercise of *imperium;* and to these provinces men of consular and praetorian rank went out as governors on the choice of the senate. Tiberius even transferred to it from the comitia the election of magistrates. It is true that in his capacity of president he often drew up (*nominavit*) a list of candidates which contained no more names than there were vacancies, and so nullified their right of choice. (See Bk. I., chs. 14, 15, 81.)

(3) **The Ordo Equestris.**—The class next in dignity to the senators—the **Equites**—continued to flourish, although their opportunities of acting as *publicani*, farmers of taxes, had been curtailed by the establishment of imperial provinces, the revenues of which were managed by the emperor's agents (*procuratores fisci*). Augustus had created new ranks within their numbers, the wealthiest being entitled *equites splendidi.* Several important offices (*e.g.*, the four chief praefectures) were expressly reserved for Equites.

(4) **The People.**—Beneath the *equites* came the **Plebs,** which down to the end of Augustus' reign continued to meet in the *comitia* for the purpose of passing laws and electing magistrates. Even then the Emperor's privilege of *nominatio* and *commendatio* (I., ch. 15), left them little choice, and this was totally lost on the accession of Tiberius. They seem, however, to have lost all desire to govern. Provided that the state distributions of corn were on a sufficiently generous scale, and games were occasionally exhibited, they felt contented with the existing state of affairs. Their political programme was simple to state, if embarrassing to fulfil: it was *Panem et Circenses!*

(5) **The Magistrates.**—These continued in name, at least, as under the Republic, but the consulship, though still sought after, was curtailed in duration, until several pairs were elected in one year. Quaestors, praetors, and tribunes were treated with the same ceremony as of old. Their jurisdiction, however, was diminished by the creation of new officials, and of boards and commissions, until they almost sank to the level of the magistrates of the *coloniae* and *municipia*. A most important functionary, resuscitated by Augustus from the regal period, was the *praefectus urbis*, who was entrusted with the superintendence of the police within the city. He had the power of banishing disaffected persons from Rome, and his authority extended one hundred miles in every direction from the city walls. A board of commissioners was appointed to superintend the public buildings; others took charge of the roads, the aqueducts, the navigation of the Tiber, the distribution of corn, etc.

(6) **The Limits of the Empire.**—At the death of Augustus a "scientific frontier" had been secured for the empire. On the north and east it was bounded by the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates; the west was rendered secure by the sea, and the south by the impassable African deserts. The wars of consolidation waged by Augustus had subdued all foes within this vast area, and perfect tranquillity prevailed. Across the frontier, however, powerful tribes cherished feelings of hostility to the Roman name. The German nations were still flushed with pride at the annihilation of Varus (A.D. 9), and the Parthians had not yet forgotten the day of Carrhae (B.C. 53).

(7) **The Provinces and their Defence.**—With a view to the security of the frontier, Augustus in B.C. 27 divided the **provinces** into imperial and senatorial; the former being provinces where a military force was necessary, the latter, wealthy and peaceful districts. (*a*) The **imperial** provinces were: in Spain, Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania; in Gaul, Aquitania, Gallia, Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior; Rhaetia and Noricum (among the Alps of Switzerland and Austria); Vindelicia (Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemburg); Pannonia (West Austria); Dalmatia with Illyricum (Bosnia, Herzegovina,

Montenegro); Moesia (Servia and Bulgaria); in Asia, Syria with Cicilia and Judaea, Galatia, Pamphilia. Three ranks were recognised, the first (*e.g.* the Germanies) being governed by men of consular, the second (*e.g.* Belgica) by men of praetorian dignity, both with the title of *legati Augusti propraetore*, the third (*e.g.* Rhaetia) by a *procurator Augusti*.

(*b*) The **senatorial** provinces were Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, Bithynia, Cyprus, Crete and Cyrenaica, Africa. Of these Asia and Africa, the most important, were governed by men of consular rank, the rest by ex-praetors, but both were styled proconsuls. To these senators of the requisite standing were appointed by lot: they were responsible to the senate only, not to the emperor. At the same time they were to some extent controlled in their administration by a *procurator fisci*, appointed by the Princeps. Egypt belonged to neither of these classes: its wealth and corn-producing capabilities caused Augustus to place it under an *eques* of moderate fortune, answerable to himself, and not likely to prove troublesome by reason of ambitious designs. The frontier provinces were guarded by twenty-five **legions** (twenty-eight in theory, but the legions lost with Varus were never re-organised), supplemented by the *vexillarii*, or veterans of the reserve, the *cohortes civium Romanorum*, Italian volunteers, and the contingents of the Allies. The loyalty of Rome was secured by the Praetorian cohorts and the *cohortes urbanae*, the latter under the orders of the *praefectus urbis*. Three **fleets** were maintained at Ravenna, Misenum, and Forum Julii, to guard the Hadriatic, the western coast, and the mouth of the Rhone respectively, and there were minor flotillas on the frontier rivers.

§ 5. **Summary of Annals I.**—The book commences with a rapid survey of Roman history from the times of the kings to the fall of the Republic (chap. 1). The career of Augustus is then sketched, and his views with regard to the succession (chap. 2-4). With the death of the Emperor at Nola, **A.D. 14,** Tacitus begins to relate events in detail. The scene

of chap. 5-15 is laid at Rome. The death of Agrippa Postumus, the plunging into slavery of consuls, senators, knights, and people, the general flattery of Tiberius, the honours paid to Augustus and Livia, the seeming unwillingness of Tiberius to accept the cares of empire, are related. Then, after mentioning the transference of the *comitia* to the senate and the institution of the *ludi Augustales*, the scene changes to Pannonia (chap. 16-30), where a formidable mutiny of the legions has broken out. The soldiers demand discharge and pension at the end of sixteen years' service. Blaesus, the commander, is unable to suppress the disturbance; military discipline breaks down utterly; centurions are maltreated, and one even killed. Tiberius despatches his son Drusus and his friend Seianus to restore order. They are unsuccessful until an eclipse of the moon works on the superstition of the soldiers, and they return to obedience. The ringleaders are given up to punishment, and Drusus returns to the capital. Meanwhile a similar outbreak has occurred among the legions stationed on the Rhine under the command of Germanicus (chap. 31-52). The causes are the same as with the Pannonian legions, and they make the same demands. Germanicus, though popular with the soldiers, and even invited by them to take up arms against Tiberius, is helpless in face of the rebellion. But when he is obliged to send away his wife Agrippina and his little son Caligula, the soldiers feel compunction, and show eagerness in punishing the offenders against discipline. An expedition against the Marsi is undertaken to efface the memory of the mutiny. Two parenthetic notes (chap. 53 and 54) mention the death of Julia and the institution of *sodales Augustales*.

Next year, **A.D. 15**, Germanicus again crosses the Rhine to attack the Cherusci. That people is divided into two parties, headed by Arminius and Segestes. Segestes, who counsels friendship with Rome, is worsted in the struggle, and takes refuge with Germanicus. The Romans penetrate to the Amisia; thence they march against the Cherusci. On their way they come on the unburied bones of Varus and his legions, and pay them the rites of interment. Caecina, the lieutenant of Germanicus, is attacked on his

return march by Arminius, but eventually defeats the enemy. Two other legions while marching back to the Visurgis along the coast are almost engulfed by the quicksands; all, however, reach the Rhine in safety (chap. 55-71). The last chapters (72-81) deal with events at Rome. The law of treason is revived and extended; the licence of actors is repressed; the Emperor sits with the praetors in the courts of law; the Tiber overflows, and commits great havoc; the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia are transferred to the Emperor.

NOTE.—The text used in this edition is that of Dräger, to whom and to Nipperdey the editors are under deep obligations. Of the Introductions to Mr. Furneaux' larger edition extensive use has been made, and is thankfully acknowledged. The narrative of Tacitus in this book will be found compressed and supplemented from other sources in the seventh chapter of *The Early Principate* (University Tutorial Series).

Genealogical Table.

C. JULIUS CAESAR, d. B.C. 84.

JULIA, m. M. ATIUS BALBUS. | **C. Julius Caesar**, the Dictator, b. B.C. 100, murdered B.C. 44.

C. OCTAVIUS, d. B.C. 58. = ATIA MAIOR.

OCTAVIA, d. B.C. 11. | SCRIBONIA, put away, B.C. 39. = **C. Octavius (Augustus)**, b. B.C. 63, d. A.D. 14. = LIVIA DRUSILLA (Augusta). = TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

M. MARCELLUS, d. B.C. 23.

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, b. B.C. 63, d. B.C. 12. = JULIA, b. B.C. 39, banished B.C. 2, d. A.D. 14. = **Ti. Claudius Nero** b. B.C. 42, d. A.D. 37. = VIPSANIA AGRIPPINA, d. A.D. 20. | DRUSUS (the Elder), b. B.C. 38, d. B.C. 9.

GERMANICUS, b. B.C. 15, d. A.D. 19. | **Claudius**, d. A.D. 54.

C. CAESAR, b. B.C. 20, d. A.D. 4. | L. CAESAR, b. B.C. 17, d. A.D. 2. | JULIA (the Younger), d. in exile A.D. 28. | AGRIPPINA (the Elder), b. B.C. 14, m. GERMANICUS A.D. 5, d. A.D. 33. | AGRIPPA POSTUMUS, b. B.C. 12, put to death A.D. 14. | DRUSUS (the Younger), b. B.C. 13, poisoned A.D. 23.

Caius Caesar (Caligula), b. A.D. 12, d. A.D. 41. | AGRIPPINA (the Younger), b. A.D. 15, d. A.D. 59.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM LIBER I.

I. URBEM Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

II. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens

et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

III. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii compertum. At hercule Germanicum Druso ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio

iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

IV. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta iam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere. Pars multo maxima inminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice, congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos, ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quid quam iram et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. Accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

V. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum

ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur. Quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. Gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit. Acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

VI. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit; patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque supremum diem explevisset. Multa sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat, ceterum in nullius unquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. Propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod imperasset; neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria

militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.

VII. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques. Quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi; ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae. Verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum, neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare. Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat: excubiae, arma, cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. Litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur. Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

VIII. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquiens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, . . . legionariis ac cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit. Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis qui maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere. Addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. Die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret.

IX. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. Numerus etiam consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat, continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes. Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam, mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium. Legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios, urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.

X. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta, ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium. Mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse. Extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit, contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Cassii et Brutorum

exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere, sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. Nec domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; Q. Pedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus, postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse. Etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. Ceterum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur.

XI. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varia edisserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia: solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. Proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat, Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur. At patres,

quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates et largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

XII. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscepturum. Tum Asinius Gallus "interrogo" inquit, "Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis." Perculsus inprovisa interrogatione paulum reticuit, dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. Rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum. Addidit laudem de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. Nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tanquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

XIII. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira, sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel

idem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum. De prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset "quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?" Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. In Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit. Fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpeditus prociderat. Neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

XIV. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur "Iuliae filius" censebant. Ille moderandos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens, ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit. At Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. Quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab

Augusto traditum: et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

XV. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. Inter quae tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. Sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur; curru vehi haud permissum. Mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

XVI. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is inperitos animos et quaenam post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentis inpellere paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

XVII. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. Quando

ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? Satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent. Ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac [illegible] quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari. Hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna. Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias, sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

XVIII. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris vēnere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. Depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. Properantibus Blaesus advenit increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans "mea potius caede imbuite manus: leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. Aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo aut iugulatus paenitentiam adcelerabo."

XIX. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? Decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. Adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis; cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. Profecto iuvene modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

XX. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.

XXI. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet: nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et

optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere clamitantes. Simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam metum et iras permoverent. Adcurritur ab universis et carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

XXII. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. Et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi allevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos "vos quidem" inquit "his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis; sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? Quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris; ne hostes quidem sepultura invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant."

XXIII. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans. Mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. Ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui

militaribus facetiis vocabulum "cedo alteram" indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

XXIV. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

XXV. Postquam vallum introit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent, ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. Illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem interrupto tumultu litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella

toleravisset: ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum. Misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

XXVI. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret. Is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. Ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. Cur venisset neque augendis militum stipendiis neque allevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? At hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum; easdem artes Drusum retulisse. Numquamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? Novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. Eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

XXVII. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. Iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multitudinis, quae cum Druso advenerat, protectus est.

XXVIII. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura quae pararent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. Igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere, et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. Hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. "Quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? Quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? Denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? Quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias." Commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii; omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

XXIX. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces exciperet. Orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte

Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum; nihil in vulgo modicum: terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni. Dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctoribus. Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. Tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

XXX. Tum, ut quisque praecipuus turbator, conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. Auxerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. Durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. Primum octava, dein quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. Et Drusus non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem rediit.

XXXI. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen superiori,

sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicensimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legionibus. Nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur audito fine Augusti vernacula multitudo nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

XXXII. Nec legatus obviam ibat; quippe plurium vaecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium. Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent, tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque

disiecti nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

XXXIII. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. Neptem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, sed anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. Quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. Accedebant muliebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

XXXIV. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. Dehinc audito legionum tumultu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. Et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Adsistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet; sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum,

Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

XXXV. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet imperium promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

XXXVI. Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii

adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. Periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia concedentur, in ancipiti res publica. Igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

XXXVII. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna cuiusque. Non abscessere quintani unetvicensimanique, donec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. Primam ac vicensimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

XXXVIII. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. Deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

XXXIX. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. Illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal. Tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et inmeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

XL. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum. Vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentis et

omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? Illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. Diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

XLI. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa facies gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. Quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustris, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros externae fidei. Pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil aeque flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. Isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit.

XLII. "Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Coniugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istud sceleris inminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciat. Quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve

vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo? Militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis: an civis, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? Hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detractabant. Divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane et vicensima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? Hunc ego nuntium patri laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? Ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere.

XLIII. "Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici? Melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit."

XLIV. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem; revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve obses Gallis traderetur. Reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminentem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. Et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob inminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit. Citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. Si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

XLV. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexagensimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant, atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

XLVI. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat. Ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? Satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

XLVII. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur anteferret? Ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. Simul adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent? Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

XLVIII. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promisca caede. Eas

Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari; ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. Illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

XLIX. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium armorum facies. Non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor vulnera sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. Et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. Neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit; permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

L. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. At Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac

tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. Inde saltus obscuros permeat consultatque ex duobos itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an inpeditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum. Delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur; legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae stationes, stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter temulentos.

LI. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. Non sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit, profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod Tamfanae vocabant, solo aequantur. Sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis ceciderant. Excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes, saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, insedere. Quod gnarum duci incessitque itineri et proelio. Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicensimani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicensima legio terga firmavit, post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere. Turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensimanos voce magna hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque; simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque communivere.

Quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

LII. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere, gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria angebatur. Retulit tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione. Cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

LIII. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet. Imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat: litteraeque quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. Quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud

indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

LIV. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via, sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

LV. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecipit. Nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. Sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit; Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri, quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

LVI. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Chattis adeo improvisus advenit, ut qucd imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant, dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

LVII. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus, rebus commotis potior habetur. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque

in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data, simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus.

LVIII. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: "non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. Ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! Quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpessus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. Tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est." Caesar clementi responso liberis propinquisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

√ LIX. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. Neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae dis patriis suspenderit. Coleret Segestes victam ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint. Aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exuerint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne imperitum adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. Si patriam parentes antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem sequerentur.

LX. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus, vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. Et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu

Germanici fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicensimae legionis aquilam cum Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

LXI. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis inponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. Adiacebant fragmina telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Et cladis eius superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

LXII. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus

doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

LXIII. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente; mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset. Inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. Mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat: pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus: cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives quas tum Arminius inplevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

LXIV. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor, et cuncta pariter Romanis

adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. Quadragensimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens non aliud repperit quam ut hostem silvis coërceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

LXV. Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. Ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manus intendentem reppulisse. Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim prorupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore, sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans "en Varus

eodemque iterum fato victae legiones!" Simul haec, et cum delectis scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. Plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese opposuisset. Iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseriarum finis. Struendum vallum, petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes. Non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

LXVI. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. Tanta inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam. Simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

LXVII. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. Unam in armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. Quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at

victoribus decus gloriam. Quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta, memorat; reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

LXVIII. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi egressosque rursum per umida et inpedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. Exin clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere; vulgus trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

LXIX. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. Sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud

principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quaeri. Nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam appellari velit. Potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. Accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

LXX. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant. Permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disiecti aut obruti. Non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab inprudenti, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. Pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet; quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem Visurgin quo Caesar

classe contenderat. Inpositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

LXXI. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. Data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlusisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes. Quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. Utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere, vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

LXXII. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. Nomen patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit.

Hunc quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

LXXIII. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum periurio numen Augusti. Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. Ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

LXXIV. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat

sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque reo. Nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam. Ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso "quo" inquit "loco censebis, Caesar? Si primus, habebo quod sequar: si post omnis, vereor ne inprudens dissentiam." Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

LXXV. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta. Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. Resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis conperto paternas ei angustias esse. Temptantis eadem alios probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. Unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

LXXVI. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibyllini adirentur. Renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coërcendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod in vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

LXXVII. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset. Intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. De modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

LXXVIII. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnis provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicensimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. Ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

LXXIX. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret. Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qui in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum: optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus utque originem, ita fines dederit. Spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. Seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit ut in sententiam Cn. Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

LXXX. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. Causae varie

traduntur: alii taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruerentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium. Neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. Qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

LXXXI. De comitiis consularibus quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur; aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

NOTES.

NOTE.—*Hist. Aug.* and *Tib.* refers to the History of the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius as contained in Allcroft and Haydon's *Early Principate* (Univ. Corr. Coll. Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*). S. G. = Smith's *Smaller Latin Grammar* (Murray, 3*s.* 6*d.*) or *The Student's Latin Grammar* (Murray, 6*s.*).

Ch. 1. habuere: *governed.* According to the traditional chronology the regal period lasted from B.C. 753 to 509.

consulatum : on the expulsion of the kings the executive authority was placed in the hands of two consuls. The first to hold this office were L. Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus.

dictaturae: the dictator was a magistrate with supreme authority (*imperium*), appointed at a crisis of extraordinary danger. The term of office was, at the maximum, six months, but it was usual for the dictator to resign on completing the business for which he was appointed. The first holder of the office was, according to Livy (II. 18), T. Lartius, B.C. 499.

ad tempus : either *for a short time*, or like the Greek πρὸς καιρόν, *to meet a crisis.*

decemviralis potestas : decemvirs were appointed in B.C. 451 to draw up a code of laws. At the end of their year of power another body of ten was elected, who refused to lay down their authority at the legitimate time, and were only deposed by force in B.C. 449.

ultra biennium : probably *potestas* is used in its strict technical sense of *lawful authority of a magistrate.* Their tenure of office in the third year was not *potestas*, but usurpation (*potentia*).

tribunorum militum consulare ius: military tribunes with consular power, chosen from both patricians and plebeians, took the place of the consuls, who could only be patricians, at times between the years B.C. 444 and 367.

Cinnae: Cinna, the leader of the popular party after the death of Marius, was master of Rome and consul from B.C. 87 to B.C. 84. See Historical Index.

Sullae: the *dominatio*, tyranny, of Sulla lasted from B.C. 82 to B.C. 79.

Pompei Crassique potentia : Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar formed

the *First Triumvirate* in B.C. 60. Crassus was killed in a Parthian campaign B.C. 53. Pompeius was then accepted by the senate as its champion, and broke with Caesar, by whom he was defeated at Pharsalia in B.C. 48.

Lepidi . . . Augustum: Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius formed the *Second Triumvirate* in B.C. 43. After the battle of Philippi in the next year Lepidus was obliged to be content with the possession of the province of Africa, and on attempting to oppose Octavius by means of Sextus Pompeius' soldiery was deprived of all power (B.C. 36). Antonius ruled the eastern half of the Roman dominions until he was defeated at Actium in B.C. 31.

principis: *princeps* was a title given to Octavius at an early period of his life. The name carried with it no official position, only implying *first of the citizens:* as such it is often given to Pompeius. It is not to be confused with the designation *princeps senatus*, leader of the senate, conferred on Augustus in B.C. 28.

sub imperium: *under military command.* The *imperium*, command of the army, had been originally enjoyed by the consuls; then, subsequently to Sulla's legislation, by the proconsuls and propraetors. But while they could only exercise it in certain provinces, Octavius possessed it throughout the Roman territories, and was thus the head of all the military forces of the state. It is defined by Cicero as that "sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest." This power was latent when the consul or praetor was at Rome; hence the distinction between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*.

claris scriptoribus: *by illustrious historians* (especially Livy and Varro). The dative of the agent is in prose of the best period most frequently used with the gerundive, but sometimes also with the passive participles and adjectives in *-bilis*. Tacitus uses it freely with *all* forms of the passive.

temporibus Augusti dicendis: *to describe the times of Augustus*, the dative of work contemplated, a construction in which Tacitus is particularly fond of using the gerundive.

donec deterrerentur: *until they were deterred.* Early writers only make *donec*, like *dum*, govern the subj. when there is a notion of *purpose;* in this case, where a simple fact is introduced, the indicative would be used.

falsae: *were falsified.*

consilium mihi: sc. *est*, *my plan is.* Cp. Macaulay's opening words: "I purpose to write," etc.

et cetera: the reigns of Caligula (A.D. 37—41), Claudius (A.D. 41—54), and Nero (A.D. 54—68), after which the *Histories* of Tacitus take up the narrative.

Ch. 2. Bruto et Cassio caesis: Brutus and Cassius, the last champions of the republic, were defeated at Philippi in B.C. 42 by Octavius and Antonius. See Index.

nulla jam publica arma (sc. *erant*): *no state army.* Tacitus

means that the generals he proceeds to mention—Pompeius, Lepidus, Antonius, and Octavius—waged war as private individuals (*privato consilio*, Mon. Ancyr.), not at the command of their country.

Pompeius : Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of the triumvir. See Index.

exuto Lepido : see note, Ch. 1.

interfecto Antonio : after the defeat of Actium in B.C. 31 Antonius fled to Egypt. He put an end to his life when Octavius appeared before Alexandria in the following year.

Iulianis partibus : *the Julian party*. *Pars* in the plural denotes (1) *party, faction*, as here; (2) a *character* on the stage; (3) *office, duty*, e.g., *temperantiae partes*.

Caesar : *i.e.* Octavius.

posito triumviri nomine : the division of authority, which Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus had agreed to at Bononia in B.C. 43, received shortly afterwards the assent of the comitia, and the title of *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* was conferred on them for a period of five years. In B.C. 38 they renewed the compact for a similar period, and retained the title of triumvirs without any special authorisation from the people. In B.C. 33, at the end of the second term of five years, Octavius laid down this title, though he retained the powers it implied till B.C. 27. On the titles of Augustus and their import see Introd., § 4, *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chaps. II., V.

consulem se ferens : *posing as consul.* Octavius was elected consul for the second time in B.C. 33, a third time in B.C. 31, and then continuously from that date down to B.C. 23.

tribunicio iure : the *tribunicia potestas* supplied the popular element in the emperor's position. It enabled him to appear as the protector of the populace. It rendered his person sacred (*sacrosanctus*). It gave him the power of vetoing any proposal made in the senate, and of deciding appeals involving the question of life or death. It is doubtful whether the *ius tribunicium* and the *potestas tribunicia* are identical. The former, assumed by Octavius in B.C. 36, possibly only secured the inviolability of his person. The other privileges of a tribune—a title he could not take to himself, being a patrician—gradually accrued, until in B.C. 23 the emperor formally assumed the *potestas tribunicia* with all the powers above-mentioned.

annona : distributions of corn.

dulcedine otii : "The desire of the world was for peace" (*Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chap. I., where the causes of Augustus' success are enumerated).

insurgere : hist. infin., the subject of which is *Caesar*.

per acies aut proscriptione : Tacitus is fond of varying his constructions. *Per acies* is equivalent to an ablative.

quanto quis promptior : in writers of the Augustan age this would be followed by *tanto magis*. Cf. *quanto incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens* (Ch. 74).

servitio : *promptus* in other writers is followed by *ad*.

neque provinciae abnuebant : the provinces had suffered greatly

during the last century and a half of republican rule through the weakness of the central authority. A governor would commit the grossest acts of injustice, conscious that almost certain acquittal awaited him if brought to trial at Rome. In addition there were the extortions of the *publicani*, the farmers of the taxes, to be borne. If through inability to satisfy the demands of these men, the provincials had had recourse to the *foeneratores*, money-lenders, their position was as miserable as it is possible to conceive. Under the empire these abuses were, to a considerable extent, checked by the vigilance of the emperor and his *procuratores fisci*. Tyrannical governors, however, still existed, though they were more frequently brought to trial and convicted than under the republic. See *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Chap. VI.

certamina potentium : *e.g.* Marius, Sulla, Caesar, Pompeius. Sulla fined the cities of Asia more than 20,000 talents. In B.C. 43 Brutus compelled them to pay ten years' tribute in a single year, a demand which Antonius repeated a few years later.

Ch. 3. Subsidia dominationi : *as props of his despotism.* After the substantive *subsidia* a genitive would be more usual : cf. for this Tacitean peculiarity, *rector iuveni*, Ch. 24.

Claudium Marcellum : see Index.

admodum : *lit.* "to the limit." "Exceedingly" is, like κομιδῇ in Demosthenes, frequently joined with expressions denoting age.

pontificatu : (probably from *pons* and *facere*, but the significance of the word is uncertain). The college of pontiffs consisted originally of four, but was raised successively up to fifteen in Caesar's time, both numbers being exclusive of the *Pontifex Maximus*. A long struggle whether vacancies should be filled by co-option or by popular election ended in a compromise in B.C. 63. The college had a general superintendence in matters religious; but by this time they had ceased to keep annals, regulate the calendar, etc., and their jurisdiction in morals was not highly esteemed. Even the position of *Pontifex Maximus* was honorific rather than authoritative.

curuli aedilitate : this magistracy dated from the passing of the *Licinian Rogations* into law, B.C. 367. They were two in number; were alternately patrician and plebeian ; and in conjunction with the *aediles plebeii* regulated trade and superintended police arrangements.

M. Agrippam : the great war-minister of Augustus. For this and the following names—*Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, *Drusus*, *Gaius* and *Lucius Caesar*, *Livia*, *Agrippa Postumus*, *Germanicus*—see Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6, and Index.

geminatis consulatibus : two consulships in successive years (B.C. 28, 27).

generum sumpsit : Agrippa married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and widow of Marcellus, in B.C. 21. By her he had three sons, Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, and Agrippa Postumus, and two daughters, Julia and Agrippina, the younger, who married Germanicus.

privignos : *stepsons* : they were the sons of his wife Livia.

imperatoriis nominibus: though *legati* acting not under their own auspices, but under those of Augustus, they were saluted as *imperatores* by their troops on the battle field. This did not entitle them to assume *imperator* as a *praenomen*, a distinction which could only be conferred by the *comitia* or senate.

necdum posita puerili praetexta: abl. abs. The embroidered toga of boyhood was worn until the seventeenth year, when it was exchanged for the plain *toga virilis*.

appellari: the infinitive is dependent on *cupiverat*.

principes juventutis: this title gave precedence among the members of the equestrian centuries. Cf. Ovid's address: *Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde, Gaie, senum*.

specie recusantis: *though he pretended to decline it.*

vita concessit: *died*, in B.C. 12. The death of Drusus occurred three years later. Lucius Caesar died in A.D. 2, and Gaius Caesar in A.D. 4.

remeantem Armenia: *returning from Armenia*. The ablative without a preposition to denote motion from a country is frequent in Tacitus; in writers of the Augustan age this construction only occurs with names of towns and small islands. Other peculiar usages in Tacitus in connection with names of places are: (*a*) the country to which motion takes place is expressed by the acc. *without* a preposition: e.g. *Aegyptum proficiscitur;* (*b*) the abl. is used without a preposition to denote direction, e.g. *litore Oceani* (Ch. 63).

Nero: *i.e.* Tiberius, whose full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero.

illuc cuncta vergere: *in him all influence centred*—the hist. infin. *Illuc*, like *illic*, is occasionally used of persons; for the latter, cf. *civile bellum a Vitellio coepit, et initium illic fuit* (with him).

filius . . adsumitur: Tiberius was adopted by Augustus two years after his return from Rhodes, in A.D. 4. See Index.

palam hortatu: *at her open suggestion.*

Agrippam Postumum . . . Planasiam: see Historical and Geographical Index.

proiecerit: strict sequence would require *proiceret* or *proiecisset* after the historic tense *devinxerat*. The perfect is, however, more common to express a completed result as here; the imperfect would mean "*bound him sufficiently to cast.*"

sane: concessive, *to be sure, certainly.*

artium: gen. after *rudis*, an adj. denoting *want*, Gr. § 276.

flagitii: the gen. after *compertus, found guilty of*, is an extension of that used with verbs of *accusing* and *condemning*.

at hercule: *on the other hand.*

ortum Druso: *the son of Drusus*, the brother of Tiberius. The adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, and of Tiberius by Augustus, took place at the same date (A.D. 4). Germanicus fought under the command of Tiberius in Pannonia and Delmatia (A.D. 7—10), and then against the German tribes (A.D. 10, 11).

esset: in ordinary usage *quanquam* when (as here) introducing a fact is followed by the indicative.

filius juvenis: this was Drusus Caesar, his son by his first wife Vipsania Agrippina. See Index.

sed quo: *but (he did so) in order that. insisteret* is final subj.

abolendae magis infamiae: *rather for the purpose of wiping out the disgrace.* The genitive is dependent on *bellum*, and is an extension of the genitive of definition. We may suppose that the first step in the process was to use *bellum infamiae* = *bellum infame*, which by the addition of a gerundive with the force of a qualifying adjective developed into *bellum abolendae infamiae.*

amissum cum Quintilio Varo: the *Variana clades* occurred in A.D. 9. Two years previously Quintilius Varus had proceeded from the government of Syria to that of Germany. He irritated the native tribes by the introduction of Roman customs, and when marching into the interior of the country between the Rhine and the Weser was deserted and attacked by the Cheruscan Arminius or Hermann. Three entire legions perished in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, and Varus ended his life by suicide. It was not until A.D. 15 that Germanicus restored something of the prestige of the Roman arms by honouring with burial the remains of the slaughtered legionaries, and recovering the lost standards.

vocabula: *names.* Quaestors, aediles, praetors, and consuls existed under the Empire as they had done during the republican rule. But the concentration in the emperor's person of powers which enabled him to control all magistrates, the creation of officers like the *praefectus urbi*, and the establishment of boards and commissions, took away their importance, and degraded them until they were of little more consequence than the officials of any provincial town.

post Actiacam victoriam: the victory of Actium gained by Octavius in B.C. 31.

inter bella civium: the great civil war, which ended in the overthrow of the republic, commenced when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, B.C. 49. **nati**: sc. *erant.*

quotus quisque: *how few.* Just as *decimus quisque* means *each tenth*, so *quotus quisque* denotes literally *each how-many-eth*, *i.e.* "one out of how large a number," "what a small fraction."

vidisset: consecutive subjunctive, *of such an age as to have seen.* Note that *rem publicam* is here equivalent to our *Republic*: it usually means *state.*

Ch. 4. moris: partitive gen. dependent on *nihil*, S. G. § 270.

aspectare: *looked up to*—hist. infin.

nulla in praesens formidine: *with no fears for the present;* abl. abs., consisting of subst. and adjective without verb.

aegro et corpore: *et* = "*also*, in addition," lit., "*when his old age was being worn out in addition* (i.e. *to his advanced years*) *by a sickly body.*"

inminentis: acc. plur. The termination *is* is preferred to *es* in the acc. plur. of pres. participles.

differebant: *differre* in this sense of *to cry down, to defame*, is

most ante-classical or post-Augustan. The acc. and infin. which follow are in oratio obliqua.

vetere . . . superbia: abl. of quality. Tacitus here follows Livy in his estimate of the Claudia gens. The latter writer speaks of the family as *superbissima ac crudelissima in plebem Romanam*, and from his history we have grown accustomed "to regard the *gens* as the very incarnation of the patriciate, and its leaders as the champions of the aristocratic party, and the conservatives in opposition to the plebeians and the democrats." Mommsen, however, has tried to prove that the prevalent view is a mistaken one. He shows that of the two Claudii in early times about whom we have any certain information, Appius the Decemvir inflicted a severe defeat on the nobility by obtaining a written body of laws, and Appius the Censor, by admitting landless men into all the tribes and centuries, "brought about, perhaps, the most material constitutional change which ever took place in republican Rome."

premantur: the subj. after *quanquam* is due to oratio obliqua.

in domo regnatrice: *in the reigning house.* For the use of a substantive in apposition, in place of an adjective, cf. *imperator populus* (III. 6), an imperial people; *mare oceanus*, the ocean (Ch. 9). **Eductum** (*esse*) is predicate to *hunc*, **congestos** (*esse*) predicate to *consulatus*, *triumphos.*

exul egerit: *lived in exile. Agere* is used absolutely; cf. *apud illos homines qui tum agebant*, who lived then (III. 19).

accedere matrem: *there was in addition his mother.*

inpotentia has its usual classical sense of "lack of self-control."

serviendum (sc. *esse*) is impersonal, but the subject in the speaker's mind is *We Romans.* **feminae duobusque adulescentibus**, *i.e.* Livia and her grandsons Drusus and Germanicus—the former the son, the latter the nephew, of Tiberius.

quandoque: indef. *at some time or other.*

Ch. 5. agitantibus: abl. absolute, consisting of participle only, the subj. being inferred from the context, *while men were discussing.*

scelus uxoris: the absurd story was current that Augustus died through gathering and eating figs which had been poisoned by Livia while still growing.

paucos ante menses: the acc. is due to *ante* being a preposition. See S. G. § 326.

vectum (sc. *esse*) is predicate, *Augustus had sailed.*

fore ut juvenis . . . redderetur: a periphrasis for the fut. infinitive passive, *that the youth would be restored. reddo* has its usual signification of *giving back what is due.*

gnarum is usually active = *knowing.* Here and often in Tacitus it is passive = *notum*, known; so *ignarus* = *ignotus*, unknown.

dubium an quaesita morte: *whether by a self-inflicted death is doubtful.* The clause is parenthetical, not being dependent on any word in the rest of the paragraph. For this late construction, cf. *codicilli, dubium ad quem scripti* (Quint. 7, 2, 52).

fuisset: the subj. is due to virtual oratio obliqua, *because (as she said) she had been.* S. G. § 487. The indicative *fuerat* would give the opinion of the historian himself.

Illyricum here denotes not simply the strip of land running along the eastern shore of the Hadriatic, but Delmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, Rhoetia, and Noricum. Tiberius had only set out to take command of the legions a short time before the death of the emperor.

properis: active, *hurrying T., urgent.*

apud urbem: *apud* with designations of place usually means *near*. Here it denotes *in*, a signification which is found in the comic poets, and is frequent in the later writings of Tacitus. By an extension of usage it is employed with other names than those of places, e.g. *Arae apud quas* (Ch. 61), *apud paludes* (Ch. 64).

interdum is equivalent to *per aliquod tempus, for some time*, not *from time to time.*

nuntii: *nuntius*, originally *bearer of a message, courier*, came to mean the message itself. Trans. *bulletins.*

provisis: sc. *iis*, the antecedent to *quae*. The construction is abl. absolute.

rerum potiri: *was master of the state.*

Neronem: *i.e.* Tiberius, as in Ch. 3.

Ch. 6. praescripsisset: virtual oratio obliqua "by which (as Tiberius declared) Augustus had ordered."

custodiae adposito: *placed over Agrippa as a guard*, *custodiae* being the predicate dative, denoting purpose, Gr. § 297. It is also possible to construe *placed in command of the guard*, where *custodiae* will be dat. of the indirect object.

quandoque: (= *quandocumque*) *whenever, as soon as.* For another meaning of the word see Ch. 4, end.

duravit: neuter, *steeled himself to.*

propius vero: *it is nearer the truth.* Roby notes that Cicero never, and Livy very rarely, have the dative with the adverbs *propius, proxime.* They prefer the acc., e.g. *esse propius periculum.* The sentence is in oratio obliqua after a verb of saying understood.

centurioni: governed by *respondit.*

rationem reddendam: a mercantile term, *that an account must be given.*

juxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret: *as it was equally perilous whether the disclosures he made were false or true.* Here it is to be noted that (*a*) in this strange ablative absolute the neuter adj. *periculoso* is used as predicate with the sentence *ficta seu vera promeret* as subject; as a parallel instance take *incerto quid aut peterent aut vitarent* (Liv., XXVIII., 36); (*b*) *juxta* is used adverbially and modifies *periculoso*; (*c*) the omission of *seu* before *ficta* is poetical; *cf.*, *tollere seu ponere vult freta* (Hor., *Od.* I., 3).

ut non aliter ratio constet: *that accounts will not balance. Ut non*, not *ne*, is employed because the sentence is consecutive, S. G.

§ 457. *ratio constat* is a term used in bookkeeping, *the account agrees, is correct.*

Ch. 7. ruĕre : historic infinitive.

eques: the name given to a class of citizens set apart for serving on juries by Caius Gracchus in B.C. 123, which occupied an intermediate position between the senate and the plebs. The qualifications for this *equestris ordo* were: (i) census of 400,000 sesterces; (ii) to be between 30 and 60 years of age; (iii) not to be a senator. Under Augustus three ranks were recognised: (i) *equites splendidi,* distinguished for their great wealth; (ii) *equites equo publico;* and (iii) ordinary equites.

ne laeti: sc. *essent.* The omission of the verb *sum* occurs frequently in Tacitus. He rarely, however, omits the subjunctive except when the sense can be readily supplied by a following verb in the same mood.

primordio: the commencement of Tiberius' reign.

in verba juravere : *swore obedience. jurare in verba Caesaris* literally means to swear to the form of words dictated by Caesar. The custom was originally a military one, in which the general's legate, the centurions and soldiers swore in succession to obey the commands of the imperator. *In acta Caesaris jurare* (Ch. 72) = to swear not to aim at the undoing of Caesar's measures. Cf. the oath to Saturninus' laws in B.C. 100.

apud eos: *in their presence.* The consuls after taking the oath administered it to the other officers and classes of the state.

praetoriarum cohortium praefectus: the *praetoriae cohortes,* nine or ten in number, each consisted of a thousand picked soldiers, who received double pay, and were especially attached to the service of the emperor. They were organized by Augustus, who stationed three out of the total number at Rome to protect his person and secure the fidelity of the capital. Seianus concentrated them all in cantonments just outside the city near the *Agger Servii,* A.D. 23.

annonae praefectus, was a permanent officer instituted by Augustus to superintend the corn market at Rome, and to see that the supply was equal to the demand. This command, like the praefectures of the Praetorian Guard, of the City, and of Egypt, was always held by a member of the *Equestris Ordo.*

ambiguus imperandi: cf. for this genitive *exitii certus* (Ch. 27).

curiam: the senate-house, called the *curia Julia* in honour of the Julian family and Augustus, by whom it was rebuilt when destroyed by fire.

tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione: *praescriptio* = a writing in front. Tiberius headed his edict "TI. CAESAR TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE SEXTUM DECIMUM DICIT.

signum : the watchword, which was originally inscribed on a square tablet called the *tessera.*

excubiae: *lit.* "a watching," is here concrete, denoting soldiers of the praetorian guard who acted as sentries at the palace.

cetera aulae: *the other tokens of a court.*

adepto: an instance of the perf. part. of the deponent *adipiscor* used passively, S. G. § 525.

loqueretur: this subjunctive of indefinite repetition is a mark of silver Latinity, Gr. § 481. Livy is the first writer who uses it with frequency. Cicero and Caesar would prefer the indicative *loquebatur*. It is found after *ubi* (Ch. 44), *ut quis* (Ch. 27).

tot legiones: eight legions quartered along the Rhine frontier.

sociorum auxilia: mostly cavalry and light-armed troops.

dabat famae: the full expression is *dabat aliquid famae, he paid regard to public opinion.*

uxorium . . . senili, refer to Livia and Augustus, respectively.

inductam: *was assumed.* The metaphor is theatrical; cf. *personam inducere*, to bring a character on the stage.

Ch. 8. passus: understand *est*, which is inserted by some editors. But Tacitus is fond of strange omissions of the auxiliary verb; see on *ne laeti* (Ch. 7). The subject *Tiberius* must be supplied.

virgines Vestae: it was customary for security to place wills and important documents in the temples at Rome, especially in that of Vesta.

nomen Augustum: *and received the name of Augusta. Augustum* is an adjective, as in the expression *leges Augustae.*

nepotes pronepotesque: the grandsons were Drusus the younger and Germanicus, son and adopted son (also nephew) respectively of Tiberius; the great-grandsons were the three sons of Germanicus—Nero, Drusus, and Caligula. See Genealogical Table (p. xv). Julia and Agrippa Postumus were passed over, the one for her licentious conduct, the other for his boorish manners. *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, ch. vii., § 6.

jactantia gloriaque: abl. *with a view to display and to gain glory. Gloria* here denotes *desire of glory.* For this subjective use of what is properly an objective word, cf. *indignitas*, first, *unworthiness of treatment*, then *indignation*—that is, sense of such unworthiness.

legata: to be distinguished from *hereditas*, which fell to the *successores* (in this case Tiberius and Livia), and on which these legacies were a charge.

civilis: that which is becoming in a citizen (*civis*).

populo et plebi: the expression "leaving money to the *populus*" means that Augustus directed it to be paid into the *aerarium*, the state-chest. The sum he left to the *plebs* was distributed among the poorer members of the thirty-five tribes of citizens.

quadringentiens triciens quinquiens: with the multiplicative numeral adverbs used in expressions of money we have to supply *centena milia sestertium.* Gr. § 932. The sum is therefore 435 × 100,000—*i.e.* 43,500,000 sesterces; and as a sesterce is worth rather more than twopence, the equivalent in English money is approximately £350,000. According to Suetonius 40,000,000 went into the *aerarium*, while the plebs received the remaining 3,500,000—that is, 100,000 for each tribe.

nummum: the contracted genitive plural. A *nummus* is the same as *sestertius*, the full expression for which is *nummus sestertius*. † Before *legionariis*, some editors, following Suetonius and Dio, insert *urbanis quingenos, five hundred to each of the city soldiers*. There were three of these urban cohorts at Rome in the reign of Tiberius. They were under the command of the *praefectus urbis*, and they ranked immediately after the praetorians, whom they assisted in keeping order within the walls of the city.

cohortibus civium Romanorum: these "cohorts composed of Roman citizens," were constituted like the cohorts of the legions, but differed from them in belonging to no particular legion.

porta triumphali: the only circumstance known of the topography of this gate is that it led to the Campus Martius, the low-lying meadow ground situated in a bend of the Tiber to the N.W. of the city.

se mandante: by command of Tiberius.

remisit: left the matter in their hands.

funus divi Julii turbassent: the public funeral which, despite Cassius' advice, was given to Caesar's remains, took place about a week after his murder, on March 15th, B.C. 44. The sight of his waxen image showing his twenty-three wounds, and the funeral eulogy of Antonius (reproduced in Shakspere's *Julius Caesar*, Act III., Sc. 2), roused the people to burn his body in the Forum, and to attempt to plunder the houses of the Liberators.

sede destinata: Augustus had built a mausoleum for himself at the extreme north of the Campus Martius, and close by the Tiber.

inridentibus: sc. *iis*; for this abl. absolute, cf. *agitantibus* (Ch. 5).

occisus dictator: *the death of the dictator*; cf. *urbs condita*, the foundation of the city, *mortuus Caesar*, the death of Caesar.

facinus: *deed*, not *crime*, as the fact that it is qualified by *pulcherrimum* shows.

Ch. 9. idem dies: *a.d. XIV. kal. Sept.*, the 19th of August.

princeps: adj. acting as predicate to *dies*, *was the first*.

numerus consulatuum: Augustus was consul thirteen times in all, the first being at the end of B.C. 43. Between that year and B.C. 23 he held the office ten times. On then receiving the *tribunicia potestas*, together with a confirmation of his *proconsulare imperium*, he made little further claim to the consulship, enjoying it twice, and for a few days only. Valerius Corvus was consul six times in the course of the fifty years (348—299); the prophecy about the seven consulships of Marius, and how it was fulfilled, is well known.

continuata: *lasting without break*. As stated above, the *tribunicia potestas* was conferred on Augustus in B.C. 23. He retained it until his death in A.D. 14—a period of 36 years 2 months—and valued it so highly that he numbered from it the years of his rule. For its importance see note, Ch. 2.

nomen imperatoris: Augustus, as possessing the supreme *imperium* in the state, claimed as his own the victories which his officers gained, and on such occasions was saluted as *imperator* by the troops.

alia honorum: *other honours.* This use of the partitive genitive dependent on a neuter plural adjective is a mark of Tacitus' style. As an instance of such a genitive dependent on a neuter singular adjective, take *umido paludum* (Ch. 61).

multiplicata aut nova: the *tribunicia potestas*, for instance, was held without intermission, and was strange to the constitution.

pietate: "duty," whether towards relations or the gods. **parentem**: Julius Caesar, by whom he was adopted; so *patris* below.

pessum datus sit: *plunged into ruin.* *Pessum*, from the root *ped*, is probably an acc. of *place whither* (analogous to *Romam*, to Rome), meaning "to the ground." Other etymologies which have been suggested are *pedis-vorsum*, "brought towards the feet," and *perversum*.

regno . . . dictatura: Augustus did not follow the example of his great-uncle Julius Caesar, who was actually dictator, and who met his death largely through his efforts to gain the title of *rex*.

mari Oceano: for substantive equivalent to adjective, see note, *in domo regnatrice*, Ch. 4.

amnibus: the Euphrates, Danube, and Rhine, beyond which the Romans rarely attempted to advance.

modestiam apud socios: for the improved condition of the subject states under the Empire, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VI.

urbem: *the* city, Rome. The emperor had restored eighty-two temples, built theatres, aqueducts, etc. He could boast with justice that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

quo: an instance of the use of this final particle with sentences not comparative, S. G. § 453.

Ch. 10. tempora reipublicae: *the emergencies of the state.* Cf. Cicero's use of *tempora* for his banishment and sufferings. **obtentui**: *as a mask;* dat. of the predicate, S. G. § 297.

ceterum: almost equivalent to *re vera*, in reality. Here commences a review of the acts of Augustus' life which appeared most culpable to the opponents of the Empire. For their necessity see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. I.

concitos veteranos, paratum . . . exercitum: shortly after landing at Brundusium early in April, in B.C. 44, Octavius began to sound the feelings of the veteran troops who had been settled by his great-uncle throughout Italy. Some soldiers at Calatia and Casilinum were the first to enrol themselves. Others followed, until the young Caesar had a force of 10,000 men at his command.

corruptas consulis legiones: the consul is M. Antonius, two of whose legions passed over to Octavius in the autumn of B.C. 44.

Pompeianarum gratiam partium: *attachment to the Pompeian party.* Pompeius had been the leader of the senate against Caesar (B.C. 52—48), and even after his death the party for which he had fought was called by his name, just as the opposite party were termed *Caesariani* subsequent to the murder of the dictator. Octavius identified himself with the cause of the senate towards the

close of 44. He was invested with the title of praetor, and, on the advice of Cicero, entrusted with a command in the war against Antonius, now declared a public enemy.

caesis Hirtio et Pansa: H. and P., the two consuls for the year B.C. 43, both perished in the war of Mutina (end of April). The senatorial troops then put themselves at the orders of Octavius, who broke with the senate, and marched on Rome. In August 43 he demanded and obtained the consulship. This was followed by an interview with Antonius and Lepidus, near Bononia (end of October), in which a partition of the Roman dominions was agreed upon and proscription lists drawn up. The trio were formally recognised by the senate as *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* for five years at the end of November.

abstulerat: indic., though occurring in oratio obliqua. Tacitus, probably for the sake of vividness, is fond of using this mood in explanatory (especially relative) clauses in oratio obliqua. Examples are *qui fecere* (Ch. 10), *quae petiverant* (Ch. 36), *quae speraverat* (Ch. 53). The insinuation in the text seems perfectly baseless; but it certainly was a great stroke of luck. Merivale puts the story down to Antonius.

invito senatu: dative, S. G. § 292, *Obs*. 2. For the form, cf. *luxu* (dat.). After the battles of Mutina (April 27th, 43 B.C.) both Cicero and the senate slighted Octavius; hence this demand.

ipsis: dative of the agent, see note on *claris scriptoribus*, Ch. 1.

Brutorum: Marcus Junius Brutus, who committed suicide at Philippi, B.C. 42, and Decimus Brutus, put to death by Antonius, B.C. 43. See Index.

Pompeium: Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Magnus.

Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere: the chronological order is inverted. The Treaty of Brundisium, signed in B.C. 40 by Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus, effected a new division of the Roman world, by which Antonius was to have the provinces of the East, Octavius those of the West, and Lepidus, Africa. Antonius was also to join in crushing the rising power of Sextus Pompeius, and to marry the sister of Octavius. At the *Treaty of Tarentum*, three years later, Antonius agreed, in return for 20,000 legionaries for his Parthian war, to join in the war against Sextus Pompeius with 100 ships.

Lollianas clades: when Lollius was *legatus Caesaris* on the Lower Rhine in B.C. 16, he was attacked and defeated by a coalition of German tribes—Usipetes and Sugambri—who crossed the Rhine. The reverse, however, was of slight importance, as the invaders retired on the approach of Augustus. The *Variana clades* was a far more serious affair. See note on Ch. 3.

Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos: *men like Varro, Egnatius, Iulus*; the pl. is used as *e.g.* in "Every age has had its Caesars."

Neroni: for the dat. see S. G. § 292, *Obs*. 2. This was in B.C. 38.

uxor: this was Livia.

gravis domui Caesarum: the rumours of the time said that she

had caused the deaths of the young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar to make way for her own son.

templis et effigie: ablatives of the instrument.

comparatione deterrima: a concise expression for "by a comparison with the worst successor he could find."

paucis ante annis: Tiberius thrice received the *tribunicia potestas* —in B.C. 6 and A.D. 4 and 13.

honora: *complimentary*, lit. "one that confers honour."

habitu, cultu, institutis: *carriage, dress, manners.* Suetonius, in his Life of Tiberius, mentions the stiff pose of his head, his severe look, his habitual silence, his formality in addressing his nearest friends. For a general estimate of his character see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. X.

more: *duly*, abl. of manner.

Ch. 11. proinde: *therefore.* When joined with *ac* it denotes *just as.*

non: the regular negative in sentences of prohibition is *ne*; but *non* is here used because it negatives *ad unum*, not the entire clause (*non ad unum* = *ad plures*).

fidei: *sincerity.*

occuleret: the subj. is consecutive "things of such a nature that he did not conceal them."

suspensa: *hesitating.*

in incertum et ambiguum: *in intricacy and doubt.* Note the use of a neuter sing. adjective for an abstract substantive.

effundi: historic infinitive.

libellum: the *Breviarium*, or *Rationarium*, *Imperii* had been compiled by Augustus in his latter days from the recent geographical surveys and the copious statistics engraved on the copper-plates containing the *census* of Roman citizens and the *professions* of provincials. According to Dio Cassius not only was this document read before the senate, but also (1) Augustus' will; (2) Augustus' life and works (as inscribed on the *Marmor Ancyranum*); (3) directions for Augustus' funeral; (4) political treatise against extension of citizenship, excessive manumission, enlargement of the empire, and over centralization.

quantum civium: in B.C. 28, 4,000,000 against a tithe of that number in B.C. 70.

classes: two chief fleets—one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna—to command the Etruscan and Hadriatic seas respectively. **regna**: tributory states, *e.g.* Armenia and Cappadocia. **provinciae**: some thirty in number.

tributa et vectigalia: *taxes direct and indirect. Tributa* comprised poll taxes and property taxes: *vectigalia* custom duties, rents of public land, etc.

necessitates: fixed charges on the revenue, such as naval and military forces, public works. **largitiones**: largesses of corn, etc., bestowed on the people at the pleasure of the emperor. For a

commentary on these facts see Introduction, § 4, and *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. V. and VI.

incertum metu an per invidiam: the grammatical points to be noticed are (*a*) that the clause is parenthetic and has no syntactical relation with the rest of the sentence (see note on *dubium an quaesita morte*, ch. 5); (*b*) the omission of *est*; (*c*) and of *utrum*; (*d*) Tacitean variation of construction evinced by the abl. and *per* with acc. equally used to denote cause (see note on *per acies*, Ch. 2). The way in which Tacitus speaks of the wise and prudent policy of Augustus to keep the unwieldy empire within manageable bounds is a good instance of the unfriendly bias with which he views all events connected with the early empire. Yet such caution may well have appeared misplaced to one writing in the midst of the conquests of Trajan. On the question of the best German frontier see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VII., § 11.

Ch. 12. forte: *in a casual way.*

ut . . . ita: *although . . . yet.*

reticuit: like *reticentia*, is especially used of silence in giving no reply to a question.

legere: to "pick out or select" is the original meaning of the word, which came to mean "to read," because that process involved the picking-out of the letters.

aliquid ex eo cui in universum excusari mallet: *anything of that from which he would prefer to be wholly excused.* *cui*: for the case see S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

rursum: this form alternates with *rursus* in the ante-classical period, disappears in prose of Cicero's time, and again makes its appearance in the silver age.

vultu: the expression of the face which changes from time to time, opposed to *facies*, the features which undergo no alteration.

laudem: the sing. probably denotes an expression of praise, referring to some particular action of Augustus.

in toga: *in a civil capacity*, the toga being emphatically the garb of peace. Cf. *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae.*

tanquam: *as though, as Tiberius' impression was that . . .*

ducta Vipsania: abl. absolute. Tiberius had been compelled (B.C. 11) by Augustus to divorce Vipsania, whom he sincerely loved, and to marry in her place the emperor's daughter Julia. See Hist. Index.

plus quam civilia: designs which did not befit a *civis*, a subject.

ferociam: *haughty spirit*; so *ferox.*

Ch. 13. perinde: *equally, in the same way.*

Tiberio: (sc. *erat*), dat. of the possessor.

promptum: *energetic.*

artibus: *qualities, accomplishments.* **publice**, though an adv., qualifies *fama*. Cf. *nullo publice emolumento* (Liv.). Trans. *of corresponding repute in his public capacity.*

quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent: "who would refuse to accept the first place in the state, though likely to prove equal to the discharge of its functions." *Principem* is adj., as in ch. 9; *suffecturi* is used absolutely.

et minorem: *but* too weak; for *et* = *sed*, cf. *senatus consultum atrox et irritum* (stern but ineffectual).

perstrinxere: *ruffled*. *Perstringere* literally means *to graze the surface of a thing.*

relationi consulum: *the motion of the consuls. Relatio* is applied to any question brought before the house by the presiding magistrates, the consul, or praetor. *Consulere* or *habere senatum* are general terms: *referre ad senatum* is used of a particular motion. The word used to express the senate's wish is *censere*, as *jubere* expresses that of the *populus*, *scire* that of the *plebs*.

intercessit: tribune had the right of vetoing (*intercessio*) any motion proposed in the senate. Tiberius, of course, enjoyed this privilege in perpetuity by virtue of his *potestas tribunicia.*

flexit: *yielded*, intrans.

Palatium: the residence of the Princeps, so called from its situation on the Mons Palatinus.

genua advolveretur: Tacitus uses a simple accusative after many compound verbs, where a dative or repetition of the preposition with its appropriate case would be found in earlier writers. Cf. *elapsi vincula* (Ch. 61).

an: used as a disjunctive particle equivalent to *aut.*

oraret: the subj. is used, though the relation between the subordinate clause and the principal sentence is one of time rather than purpose. See note on *donec deterrerentur* (Ch. 1).

curatissimis: a superlative peculiar to Tacitus. Cf. *flagrantissimus* (Ch. 3).

Ch. 14. parentem appellandum (*esse*): this acc. and infin., like the following *ut* clause, is dependent on *censebant.*

ceterum: *in reality.* See note, Ch. 10. **anxius invidia**: abl. of cause, *racked with envy.*

muliebre fastigium: *the elevation of a woman. Fastigium*, lit. *the top of a gable*, acquired the meaning of *elevation*, *height*, and then, as here, of *high rank.*

aram adoptionis: an altar in honour of her adoption into the Julian family. It appears that altars were occasionally erected in commemoration of an event.

Germanico: dat. commodi, *for Germanicus.*

proconsulare imperium: a proconsul had control over the forces, naval and military, and the revenue of his province. But his power, in addition to being confined to a particular region, only lasted for a year. The *proconsulare imperium* gave its holder the same kind of control as the proconsul enjoyed; but it might extend over several provinces, or even the whole empire, and lasted for many years, often for life.

quo minus : is dependent on *ea causa—the reason why the same honour was not demanded for Drusus.*

designatus consul : the consuls were elected by the *Comitia Centuriata* in the spring or summer ; they entered upon their office on the 1st of January following. During this interval they were termed *consules designati.*

nominavit : Augustus controlled the election of magistrates (*a*) by *commendatio*, *i.e.*, recommending some of the candidates to the tribes as men whom he desired to see returned ; (*b*) by *nominatio*, *i.e.*, by using his right as president of the elections to nominate a list of candidates and to reject all other claims—*i.e.*, technically speaking, to decide *utrum ratio haberetur.*

Ch. 15. tum primum : *i.e.*, on the occasion of electing the praetors.

campo : the *Campus Martius*, outside the city, where the *Comitia Centuriata*, originally a military, not a civic organization, were invariably held, whilst the *Comitia Tributa*, though often held there, usually met within the walls.

ad patres : *to the senate.* The change was not a sudden or violent one, since by the devices mentioned above the people had ceased to exercise much real choice in the election of magistrates. On the order of magistracies and their choice see note on Ch. 81.

potissima : *the most important elections*, *i.e.*, to the consulship and the praetorship : for the quaestorship there were but two *candidati Caesaris* out of twenty.

inani rumore : *in idle talk.* The only thing the people really cared about was *panem et circenses*, bread and games.

largitionibus : *bribes, largesses.* Candidates for the magistracies above the quaestorship were members of the senate ; and this system of co-option relieved them from the expense of canvassing the people.

commendaret : see note on *nominavit*, Ch. 14. Furneaux notes that this practice of *commendatio* gave the senate "a mere *congé d'élire.*"

repulsa : the technical term for a defeat in a contested election of magistrates. **ambitu** : lit. *canvassing*, often bears the meaning of *bribery, corrupt practices.* It thus differs from *ambitio*, which is rarely used in a bad sense, = *political jobbery.*

designandos : for the force of *designare* see note Ch. 14.

fastis : the almanac, or calendar, which showed the *dies fasti*, days on which the courts of justice were open, and the *dies nefasti*, on which they were closed.

aerario : the general treasury of the state, opposed to *fiscus*, the privy purse of the emperor.

utque uterentur : this is dependent on *decretum est* to be understood from *decreta.*

triumphali veste : the tribunes were to be permitted to wear the dress of a victorious general in the triumphal procession, *i.e.*, an embroidered robe (*toga picta*) and an undergarment flowered with

palm leaves (*tunica palmata*), but the four-horse chariot (*quadriga*) customary on such occasions was prohibited.

praetor: the *praetor urbanus* was the praetor *qui ius inter cives dicit:* the *praetor peregrinus* decided suits between foreigners or between a foreigner and a citizen. The latter office was instituted at the close of the First Punic War (B.C. 243).

evenisset: sc. *sorte. Obvenire* is also used. The lot had been used to assign "provinces" ever since the establishment of a second praetor.

Ch. 16. mutatus princeps: *the change of Princeps;* for the construction see note on *occisus dictator*, Ch. 8. Note that (*a*) "there was no precedent for a bloodless revolution," and (*b*) the soldiery were beginning to be conscious of their supremacy—"*sua in manu sitam rem Romanam*," Ch. 31. *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. VII., §§ 7-9.

tres legiones: these were the eighth (*Augusta*), ninth (*Hispana*), and fifteenth (*Apollinaris*). The entire military force of the Empire at this time numbered twenty-five legions, a force which, reckoning 5,000 men to the legion, amounted to about 125,000 men. Introd. § 4 (7).

justitium: (from *jus, sisto*), *lit.* "a suspension of business in the courts of law," then a "period of public mourning" (in this case for the death of Augustus).

gaudium: on account of the accession of the new emperor.

lascivire: hist. infinitive.

dux theatralium operarum: *the leader of a band of theatrical claqueurs*, who were hired to applaud or hiss a particular actor.

gregarius miles: *a private soldier*, one belonging to the common herd (*grex*).

miscere: this prolative or epexegetic infinitive depending on *doctus*, "skilled to stir up assemblies to disorder," is a construction of Greek origin, frequent in Horace, but unknown to earlier prose.

quaenam . . . condicio: supply *foret*, subj. of indirect question depending on *ambigentes*, "doubting."

Ch. 17. et: *etiam*.

velut contionabundus: "as though haranguing a public assembly," "in the tone of a demagogue." A *contio* was much the same as our "public meeting."

paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis: in the early empire the *legion* (= "division") was divided into ten *cohorts* (= "regiment"). Each cohort consisted of three *maniples;* each maniple of two *centuries*. The three maniples consisted of *hastati, principes*, and *pilani* respectively, the hastati being the lowest, the pilani the highest, in rank. The cohorts also differed in rank, the first being the most honourable, the tenth the least. The officers of the legion were centurions and tribunes. To each century there belonged a centurion; to each maniple consequently two; and to the entire legion, sixty. They differed in rank, the least considerable being the

junior centurion of the hastati of the tenth cohort, the most important, and ranking next to the tribuni, the senior centurion of the pilani of the first cohort, called *primipilus* or *primi pili centurio.* He was entrusted with the care of the eagle of the legion, and had the right of attending the councils of the general. The tribunes of the legion were six in number: for their ranks see note on Ch. 81. Above them stood the *legatus*, the commander of the legion.

quando ausuros (sc. *esse*): oratio obliqua, continuing to the end of the chapter, dependent on *interrogabat.* The reported question is put into the infinitive and not into the subj., because it is a rhetorical one of the first person (direct *quando audebimus*), see S. G. § 469.

stipendia : *years of military service, campaigns. Stipendium* (for *stipipendium*) *lit.* denotes *pay.*

dimissis : *when discharged.*

apud vexillum tendentes : *encamped under a banner;* supply with *tendentes, tentoria. Vexillum* was one of the less important banners carried by the legion, usually denoting that borne by the maniples or by the cavalry. *Vexillarii*, in its widest sense, was applied to any body of soldiers, horse or foot, serving under a *vexillum*, and might denote a detachment of legionaries, or of recruits not yet embodied in the legion (*vexilla tironum*). But it came to be applied in a special sense to those legionaries who were not disbanded on completing their term of service—fixed by Augustus, first at sixteen years, then at twenty years—but were placed under a flag by themselves. They were relieved from the harder duties of the camp, but were compelled to render aid when the emergencies of war demanded.

alio vocabulo : i.e. *vexillarii.*

adhuc : *in addition.* **diversas** : = *longinquas, distant, remote.*

uligines paludum, inculta montium : *marshy swamps, mountainous wastes;* both these genitives are characteristic of Tacitus, the first being a genitive of definition (as though Tacitus used *urbs Romae* instead of *urbs Roma*), the second an extension of the partitive genitive. See for the latter note on *alia honorum* (Ch. 9).

denis assibus : the *as* was equivalent to $2\frac{1}{8}$ farthings. The total pay per annum was thus $10 \times 360 = 3.600$ *asses* = 9 *aurei*—i.e. thrice the rate of pay (three *stipendia*) given in the second century B.C.

vacationes munerum : *exemptions from duty.*

exercitas : *passed in the labours of war.*

iniretur : *ineo,* though intrans., is found used personally in the passive.

singulos denarios : *i.e.* the soldiers wanted a rise from 10 to 16 asses.

an : used to introduce an indignant question. It implies that the opposite is ridiculous.

urbanas excubias : *the guards of the capital.*

sibi : for this dative of the agent (after *aspici*) see note on *claris scriptoribus*, Ch. 1.

Ch. 18. detrita : *worn out, threadbare;* the force of *de* is *to the vanishing point.*

furoris: partitive genitive, see S. G. § 271, *such a pitch of fury*.

agitaverint: for the use of the (aorist) perfect in historic sequence see note on *proiecerit*, Ch. 3.

quaerebant: *quisque* as usual takes a plural verb.

aquilas: the silver eagle (*aquila*) was the standard of the legion. The ensigns of the cohorts were denominated *signa*, and those of the maniple, *vexilla*.

tribunal: the *tribunal* of the camp was a platform made of turf (*as* here), or sometimes in a stationary camp (*stativa*) of stone. From it the general addressed the soldiers. The standards were then planted in front of it, and the army placed round it in order.

properantibus: either dat. governed by *advenit*, or abl. absolute, *as they were bustling about*.

imbuite: conveys the notion of *earliness*, *priority*. Cf. *sanguine bellum imbuit*, shed the first blood of battle (Verg.).

legatum: the commander of the legion. See note on *paucis centurionibus*, Ch. 17.

Ch. 19. pectori usque: = *ad pectus usque*, *breast high; pectori* is governed by *adcreverat*. The dative is poetical; cf. *advolutus pedibus* (Ch. 23), for *advolutus ad pedes*, flinging himself at the feet.

multa dicendi arte: not abl. of manner dependent on *ait*, but an abl. of quality (S. G. § 319), to be taken closely with *Blaesus*, *a man of considerable oratorical skill.* In ordinary prose *vir* would be added, thus *B. vir multa dicendi arte*, just as "the eloquent Blaesus" must be rendered *B. vir facundus*, not *B. facundus*.

turbas: *tumult*.

divo: *of blessed memory*, the epithet applied to an emperor after his *apotheosis*. It comes to mean little more than "the late Emperor."

tenderent: *they were aiming at*.

coram: adv., *in their presence*.

ab sedecim annis: *after sixteen years*.

profecto iuvene: abl. absolute, *when the young man had departed*.

orator: *pleader*, the original meaning of the word, from *oro*, I entreat.

modestiam: *moderation*, *gentle means*.

Ch. 20. manipuli: see note on *paucis centurionibus*, Ch. 17.

Nauportum: acc. of town to which. S. G. § 259.

ob itinera: *i.e.* to make and repair roads.

turbatum: sc. *esse*, is used impersonally, *that there had been a mutiny*.

municipii instar: *like a municipium*. Under the republic a *municipium* denoted a city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens with the exception of the right of voting and holding office. Under the Empire it is used synonymously with *colonia*. *Municipia* were usually governed by popularly elected *duumviri*, assisted by a senate (*decuriones*, *senatores*, or *conscripti*).

retinentis: acc. plur. agreeing with *centuriones*, *who endeavoured to restrain*.

praefectum castrorum: this officer is first mentioned in the reign of Augustus. He was usually selected from the centurions who had seen most service. Even when a camp was occupied by more than one legion there was only one *praefectus*. Amongst his duties were those of attending to matters connected with the making of the camp, such as constructing the *vallum* and *fossa*.

vetus operis ac laboris: *inured to work and toil. Operis* and *laboris* are genitives of the thing in point of which, a poetical construction borrowed from the Greek.

Ch. 21. circumjecta: sc. *loca, the surrounding country.*

carcere: a place for imprisoning refractory soldiers was common to all stationary camps.

parebatur: impersonal. S. G. § 291, *Obs.* 1. *Obedience was shown.*

optimo quoque: *lit.* "by each best," hence *by all the best.*

obniti: hist. infinitive.

ciere: *called out.* The ordinary meaning of *cieo* is *to stir up, set in motion;* but Livy uses it for *to mention by name*, e.g., *triumphum nomine ciere,* to call *Io triumphe.*

reliqui: partitive genitive. S. G. § 270.

quo minus: instead of *quin*, as in *nec defuit quo minus incederet* (xiv. 39). For the converse irregularity of *quin* = *quominus*, cf. *quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est* (XIV. 29). S. G. §§ 461—463.

rerum capitalium damnatos: *men convicted of capital charges.* For the genitive see S. G. § 280. It is usually explained by supposing an ellipsis of *crimine.*

Ch. 22. seditioni duces: the genitive would be more usual after the substantive *duces.* For the dative, cf. *subsidia dominationi*, Ch. 3, note.

reddit: the present is used vividly for the future "will restore."

de communibus commodis: *in the interests of our common weal.*

iugulavit: the subject is *Blaesus*, understood.

gladiatores: it was usual for governors, like Blaesus, to have gladiators in their pay for the purpose of gratifying the provincials with shows.

in exitium: *for the purpose of destroying.*

sepultura invident: *grudge burial.* The Ciceronian usage is the dat. of person or thing (e.g. *invidere virtuti*); but Livy construes with dat. of person and abl. of thing, *Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani*, the transition from which to the simple abl. of the present passage is easy.

dum: "provided that." S. G. § 498.

hi: the comrades who surround me.

Ch. 23. invidiae: *odium, indignation* against the general. There is always a notion of unfairness prevalent in the word.

e servitio Blaesi erant : *belonged to the number of Blaesus' slaves. Servitium*, usually abstract = *state of slavery*, is here concrete for *slaves*. So *amicitia* = friends, *consilia* = advisers, *matrimonia* = wives.

familiam : "in its widest sense *familia* comprehends all that is subjected to the will of an individual who is *sui juris*—both free persons, slaves and objects of property" (Long). It may also mean any one of these three—here obviously the second. *Familia* is also used of a philosophical sect or body of gladiators.

vincirent : plur., because *pars* is a collective noun denoting plurality. S. G. § 222. Still Latin usage prefers a singular verb in such cases.

corpus ullum reperiri : acc. and infin. dependent on *pernotuisset.*

aberant : the strict form of conditional sentence would be *ni pernotuisset . . . abfuissent.* The indicative is used in the apodosis to put the matter vividly before the reader, *they were not far* instead of *they would not have been far* ; cf. in prose *labebar longius nisi me retinuissem* (Cic.), and in poetry *et si non alium late jactaret odorem, laurus erat* (Verg.).

vocabulum : *nickname, soubriquet.*

cedo alterum : *hand me another. Cĕdo* is an old imperative meaning *give here.*

vite : the *vitis* was the centurion's staff, made of a vine-branch. It was used for the punishment of soldiers who were also Roman citizens, the *fustis* being reserved for such of the troops as did not enjoy the franchise.

perferendis mandatis : the dat. gerund. with *idoneus* is a late construction = *ad mandata perferenda.*

parabant, ni interiecisset : for the indic. in the apodosis, combined with subj. in the protasis, see note on *aberant* above.

Sirpicum : perhaps the real name of the centurion, though Sirpicus is only found here. Others explain as a nickname derived from *scirpus* or *sirpus*, a bulrush, since he flogged his men with ropes made from bulrushes.

illa : the former (legion), the eighth.

morti deposcit : *demanded in order to put him to death. Morti* is a dative of the work contemplated ; cf. *receptui canere, to sound the trumpet for a retreat.*

miles nonanus : the soldiery of the ninth legion.

aspernantis : acc. plur., governed by *adversus.*

Ch. 24. abstrusum : *close, reserved.*

ex re consulturum : *he was to take his measures according to circumstances. Consulturum*, agreeing with *filium*, is the future participle expressing purpose.

supra solitum : *beyond what was usual.* Note this use of the perf. part.

praetoriani equitis : the contingent of cavalry attached to the nine (or ten) praetorian cohorts.

tum: they had ceased to belong to the body-guard of the Emperor by the time of Tacitus.

praetorii: gen. of *praetorium*, a collective designation for the *cohortes praetoriae*. The dative also occurs *praefectus praetorio*.

iuveni: for the dative instead of genitive in dependence on another substantive, see note on *subsidia dominationi* (Ch. 3).

ceteris: the praetorian cohorts.

insignibus fulgentes: personal decorations of the soldiers, such as crowns and medals.

imitarentur: for the subj. with *quanquam*, see on *esset*, Ch. 3.

Ch. 25. vallum: properly the palisade which ran along the outer edge of the rampart (*agger*), but frequently including the latter, which consisted of the earth thrown up from the *fossa* or ditch.

firmant: "the mutinous legions" is subject. When Drusus entered the camp he left his cohorts outside.

stationibus: pickets.

bella: Tiberius was engaged in quelling Pannonian insurrections B.C. 12-9 and A.D. 6-9. See Hist. Index.

patres: the senate.

quem neque gratiae . . . par esset: *which it was right should not be considered as without a share in either indulgence or severity.*

Ch. 26. contione: the assembly of soldiers.

mandata: sc. *esse*, oratio obliqua dependent on *responsum est.*

is: the centurion Clemens.

sub vexillo: he demanded that they should be transferred to colonies as soon as their term of service—which was not to exceed sixteen years—had expired.

obtenderet: *pleaded in excuse.* The word literally means *to place something before one as a protection.*

augendis stipendiis: this dat. of the gerundive, equivalent to a final clause, is Tacitean. Cf. *perferendis mandatis*, Ch. 23.

licentia: *power, liberty.*

id: is explained by the clause *quod imperator . . . reiciat.*

sola militis commoda: the senators had no sort of control over the army, but Tiberius occasionally consulted them on military matters, sometimes to gratify them by a show of respect, at others to make them share in the odium of unpopular measures. Tiberius was very jealous of his military power; cf. *Ann.*, VI., 3, where he asks a senator —*Quid illi cum militibus?*

sine arbitro: *without an arbitrator to appeal to.*

Ch. 27. praetorianorum militum: Drusus appears to have entered the camp with some portion of his escort

occurreret: the subjunctive of indefinite repetition, for which see note on *nusquam cunctabundus, nisi cum in senatu loqueretur*, Ch. 7.

causam discordiae: this accusative is in apposition to the pre-

ceding clause, *manus intentantes.* For the construction cf. *Eumenem prodidere Antiocho, pacis mercedem.*

illa militiae flagitia : *these breaches of military discipline.*

digredientem eum Caesare : the best explanation of this sentence seems to be that Lentulus, attended by Drusus (*cum Caesare*), was leaving for the winter camp (*hiberna castra*). When near the gate Lentulus was attacked by the mutineers, but protected by the soldiers of Drusus, who had remained outside the camp, and now rushed in to his assistance. The sentence is sometimes explained as *parting with Caesar*, on the analogy of *dissidere cum aliquo*, to differ from a man.

exitii certus : *certain of destruction;* for the genitive cf. *ambiguus imperandi* (Ch. 7). Vergil uses *certus ire* and *certus eundi* within a few lines of one another (*Aen.*, IV.)

Ch. 28. languescere : *grow dim.* The eclipse took place in the early morning of Sept. 26, A.D. 14.

rationis ignarus : educated Romans, however, were acquainted with the cause of eclipses, and they are correctly explained by Lucretius and Cicero.

cessura : acc. and infin., dependent on a verb of saying implied in *adsimulans, would turn out.*

tubarum, cornuum : the *tuba* was a straight trumpet, while the *cornu* was curved.

strepere : hist. infin.

prout : *according as, in proportion as.*

creditum : impers., *it was believed.*

conditam : supply *lunam.*

utendum : sc. *esse*, depends on *ratus, thinking that use ought to be made of.*

vigiliis stationibus, custodiis portarum : *vigiliae*, patrols on duty during the night only; *stationes*, bodies of pickets, on duty during both day and night; *custodiae portarum* were a division of the *stationes*, but were restricted to the charge of the gates.

Percennione : the *ne* is the enclitic interrogative particle, S. G. § 410.

emeritis : an *emeritus* was a soldier who had served his full term of years.

pro Neronibus et Drusis : *in the place of men like Nero* (*i.e.* Tiberius) *and Drusus.* For the plur. see note on *Varrones*, Ch. 10.

capessent : the subject is *Percennius et Vibulenus*, to be supplied from the preceding sentence.

quin potius . . . sumus : *quin* (*qui, ne*, why not?) is used with the first person of the indicative tenses to introduce urgent entreaty or advice. Cf. *quin conscendimus equos?* (Liv. I. 57), "why not mount our horses?" with the second person it may express peremptory command, cf. *quin tu vivo perfunderis flumine?* (Liv., I., 45), "Go and wash yourself in the running stream." Translate here: "Why rather are we not the first to repent as we were the last to offend?"

quae in commune expostulantur: *demands made in common.*

mereare, recipias: instances of the potential subjunctive, *i.e.* conditional sentences with the protasis suppressed: "You may earn (if you wish to do so), you may receive."

tironem: usually *the recruits*, here apparently soldiers of all degrees of standing with the exception of veterans.

suas in sedes: "to their proper position." The *signa* and *vexilla* (note, Ch. 18) were again planted in that part of the camp where their cohorts and maniples were stationed.

Ch. 29. rudis dicendi: *unskilled at speaking*; for the genitive see S. G. § 276.

orantibus: abl. abs.; supply, as subject *militibus*, understood from *legionum* in the preceding clause.

idem Blaesus: the younger Blaesus, the son of the legate.

e cohorte: the suite of Drusus, composed of chosen *primores civitatis*, *amici Caesaris*, and young nobles. The name *comites* was also applied to them.

primi ordinis centurio: for the precise rank of this centurion see note on Ch. 17.

certatum: sc. *est*, *there was a conflict.*

legatos: *the envoys.*

adiciendos ex duce metus: principal sentence in oratio obliqua, *terror should be applied by their leader.* The following abl. absolute is one of the instrument.

ingenium Druso: the dative expresses possession, *the disposition of Drusus.*

obrutos: sc. *esse*, *buried.*

extra vallum: the usual place for carrying out a capital sentence pronounced against a soldier.

ostentui: predicative dative denoting purpose. S. G. § 297.

Ch. 30. palantes, caesi (sc. *sunt*): plural, because *pars*, to which they refer, contains a plural idea. Such a construction is termed Synesis.

documentum fidei: *as a proof of their loyalty*, the acc. is in apposition to the clause *quosdam ipsi manipuli tradidere.* See note on *causam discordiae* (Ch. 27).

egredi tentoria: *leave their tents.* *Egredi* followed by an acc. in classical Latin usually means *to go beyond a certain limit.*

tutari: *be kept upright.* That a standard should be blown down was naturally an evil omen. It was said that this mishap befel the ill-fated Parthian expedition of Crassus (B.C. 53).

nec frustra . . . tempestates: these acc. and infinitive clauses are dependent on the verbal notion contained in *formido*, "they said in fear." *Frustra*, at first = *without effect*, *in vain*, comes to mean *without cause*, *groundlessly.*

hebescere: *grew pale.*

piaculo: *piaculum* denotes (1) guilt, (2) the expiatory sacrifice by which that guilt is removed. Here the word has the former meaning.

hibernis : sc. *castris, to their winter quarters.*
epistulas : *letter.* Cicero uses either *epistula* (sing.) or *litterae* (plur.), not *epistulae* (plur.).
desolatus : *isolated.*
considerant : plupf. of *consido;* v.l. *consederant.*
urbem : *i.e.* Rome.

Ch. 31. Germanicae legiones : the mutiny, related in this and the following chapters, broke out in the two provinces Germania Superior and Inferior, situated on the *left* bank of the Rhine. The frontier was here defended by eight legions, of which four, the second (named *Augusta*), the thirteenth (*Gemina*), the fourteenth (*Gemina Martia Victrix*) and the sixteenth (*Gallica*) were quartered in Germania Superior; and the remaining four, the first (*Germanica*), the fifth (*Alauda*), the twentieth (*Valeria Victrix*), and the twenty-first (*Rapax*) occupied the lower province.
alterius : his uncle, Tiberius.
vi sua cuncta tracturis : *who would bring over the whole empire to him by their strength. Tracturis = quae traherent; sua* abl. agreeing with *vi; cuncta* object of *tracturis.*
agendo censui : dat. of work contemplated. The census was taken for the purpose of levying in an equitable manner the tribute of forty millions of sesterces which the Gauls were adjudged to furnish to the revenue of the empire.
alienae : that in Pannonia.
isdem aestivis : sc. *castris, in the same summer camp.*
tractis : abl. abs., *being drawn into the rebellion.*
vernacula multitudo : *mob of slaves, vernaculus* being the adjective of *verna*, a slave born in his master's house. The levy alluded to was held in A.D. 10, the year after the Varian disaster. So great was the reluctance of citizens to serve that Augustus filled his legions with manumitted slaves and freedmen.
implere : hist. infin. *poisoned.* Cf. with this the use of Gk. πίμπλημι.
ora : *looks.*
in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores : *emperors assumed their titles from them;* a reference to the fact that the elder Drusus received the surname Germanicus, which he handed down to his son, the present commander of the legions. Tiberius himself took from time to time this appellation.

Ch. 32. obviam ibat : *attempted to quell the mutiny.*
lymphati : *seized with madness. lympha* is another form of *nympha*, a word denoting generally all goddesses of fertilizing moisture, and especially of those springs the waters of which led to intoxication. Hence persons in a state of frenzy were said to be caught by the nymphs, Gk. νυμφόληπτος, Lat. *lymphatus.*
numerum adaequarent : there were sixty centurions to each legion (see note on Ch. 17), and the soldiers in revenge for their legion being

beaten by sixty centurions set sixty of their number to beat each centurion.

convulsus: "not torn from the ground" but "torn in pieces," *with limbs dislocated.* **partim**: equivalent to a substantive, *some of them*, not an adverb, *partly.*

dederetur: there is a notion of purpose in the clause, and the subj. is appropriate. For an instance where the subj. is loosely used after *donec*, see on *oraret* Ch. 13.

Gai Caesaris: Caligula, the son of Germanicus, and emperor from B.C. 37 to 41.

animi ferox: *animi* is probably the locative "at heart." The only circumstance which supports the view that *animi* is gen. of thing in point of which (cf. *occultus odii*), is that the locative is usually found in connection with verbs, not with adjectives. Still in such phrases as *animi pendeo, discrucior*, it is undoubtedly the locative, and its use with adjectives may be due to analogy.

ius obtinuit: *maintained his authority.*

si qua alia: neut. plur.

militares animos altius coniectantibus: *to those who estimated more profoundly the temper of soldiers.*

pariter: = *simul, all together, like one man.*

crederes: the potential subj., for which see S. G. § 429, "you would suppose (sc. if you had seen them)."

Ch. 33. census accipienti: *engaged in receiving the schedules of property.* The person making such a return was said *censum deferre.*

neptem: *granddaughter*, never in classical Latin *niece.* For the relationship see Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6.

anxius: passive, *harassed.*

rerum potitus foret: *if he had obtained power.*

libertatem: the republican constitution.

iuveni: sc. *erat*, possessive dative.

adrogantibus et obscuris: plur., because the adjectives refer to the double substantival expression, *sermone, vultu.*

novercalibus stimulis: *n.* is inaccurate, as Livia was the grandmother of Agrippina's husband.

nisi quod . . . vertebat: "only that owing to her purity and love for her husband she turned to good a mind otherwise unbridled."

Ch. 34. seque et proximos . . . adigit: "he caused himself and those next to him in rank and the states of the Belgae to swear allegiance to the Emperor." Germanicus, as the representative of the Emperor, administered the oath of allegiance first to himself, then to the higher officials (*proximos*), and to representatives of the Belgic provinces.

† Other readings are *Sequanos proximos et* (the neighbouring Sequani and), or *Sequanos, proximas et Belgarum civitates.*

obvias habuit: *met them.* *Obvias* is adj. agreeing with *legiones* to be supplied from *legionum.*

audiri coepere: Tacitus does not observe the rule of using the passive tenses of *coepi* when that verb governs a passive infinitive. See S. G. § 113, IV., *Obs.* 1.

sic melius audituros responsum: sc. *est a militibus*, "it was replied that they would hear better as they were."

Ch. 35. quonam: *whither; nam* denotes emotion in the questioner.

indiscretis: *confused*, that which cannot be distinguished (*discerno*).

pretia vacationum: the bribes they had to give the centurions in order to procure exemption from military tasks.

propriis nominibus: *specifically*. They had previously complained in general terms; they now point out the particular tasks which distressed them most.

pabuli materiae lignorum: all three genitives depend on *adgestus*. *Materia*, timber for building purposes; *lignum*, firewood.

adversus otium castrorum: *to counteract idleness in the camp*. A general, for instance, might set his soldiers to work at making roads, bridges, etc.

mederetur: jussive subj. dependent on *orabant*. **mortem** is apparently object of *orabant*, like *finem* and *requiem*.

neque inopem requiem: the negative must be joined to the adjective. Trans. "a retirement without destitution."

promptos ostentavere: "they showed that they were ready to help him," but the construction is harsh, and it has been proposed to insert *se* after *promptos*, or to change *promptos* into *promptas res*, "pointed out that the means were at hand."

deferebat . . . attinuissent: for the indicative in apodosis see on *aberant, ni pernotuisset*, Ch. 23.

addito: ablative absolute, the subject being *acutiorem esse*, lit. "(the words) this is sharper, being added" (cf. Ch. 46).

mali moris: gen. of quality.

raperetur: consecutive subj.

Ch. 36. superiorem: the forces in Germania Superior. See on Ch. 31.

Ubiorum oppidum: the capital of the Ubii. In after times it received the name of *Colonia Agrippensis*, whence the modern Cologne.

gnarus hostis: *the fact that the enemy was aware.*

auxilia: auxiliary troops actually with the army.

socii: allies liable to service if called upon.

concedentur: the form of speech changes from the oblique to the direct, hence the indicative.

epistulae: "*a* letter;" for the plur. see on Ch. 30.

exauctorari: *auctoror*, = *to hire oneself out for a service, to bind oneself to*, and is particularly used in reference to gladiators who swore *in verba magistri*. *Exauctoror* denotes the process of reversal, *to secure one's freedom from a contract.*

legata: *the legacies*, 300 sesterces to each soldier.

Ch. 37. in tempus : *to meet the crisis.*

differebatur : imperf. denoting attempt. Germanicus hoped to put off payment.

ex viatico : *private resources, savings.* In Hor., *Ep.* II., 2, 26, it denotes *prize money.*

Caesaris : Germanicus.

fisci : the money-bags of the legions. The term is appropriate as the military forces were paid out of the privy purse (*fiscus*) of the emperor.

signa : the banners of the cohorts.

aquilae : the eagles of the legions. It was customary for soldiers to deposit their money with the standard-bearers (*signiferi*) for safety.

Ch. 38. praesidium agitantes : "engaged in garrison duty." So *agitare custodiam*, to keep guard.

paulum : "for a time."

quam concesso jure : *than by any authority granted him.* Properly, no officers below the tribunes had the power of life and death.

non praefectum . . . violari : the words of M'. Ennius in oratio obliqua.

turbidos et nihil ausos : *disaffected but daring nothing; et* is equivalent to *sed;* see note on *et minorem*, Ch. 13.

Ch. 39. legati ab senatu : the mission is mentioned in Ch. 14.

missi sub vexillo : a pregnant expression for *missi sunt et sub vexillo retenti.*

qui inrita facerent : consecutive subj., "persons of such a character that they would make void."

quamvis falsis reum subdere : *to accuse some one of charges, however false.*

nocte concubia : lit., *in the first sleep of night. Concubius*, in the first sleep, is an adjective which only occurs in connection with *nox:* e.g. *noctu concubia, nocte in concubia.* So *concubium* subst. is that part of the night on which the first sleep falls upon men.

vexillum : this may have been either (*a*) the red flag of the commander-in-chief, which was used to give the signal for battle or march ; the demand of the soldiery would in this case be tantamount to a refusal to recognise any longer his authority ; or (*b*) as Nipperdey suggests, it was the *vexillum* of the veterans, from whom it was kept by Germanicus, and who demanded it as a pledge that their newly-gained discharge would not be countermanded.

extractum : not dragged from his bed by violence, but forced to rise on account of the tumult.

dignitas : *rank.*

castra primae legionis : as a rule, each legion had its own *castra hiberna.*

religio : the *signa* and *aquila* were reverenced as sacred by the soldiers.

rarum etiam inter hostes: parenthetic.

perduci . . . Plancum imperat: obs. the construction (like *jubeo*); usually the dative and *ut* is used.

fatalem: "fated," "sent upon them by the gods."

neque militum . . . ira resurgere: oratio obliqua dependent on the notion of saying comprised in *increpans*. The subject of the infinitive *resurgere* is *rabiem*, to be supplied, and *ira* is abl. Trans. "which (madness) was rising again not by the anger of the soldiers but of the gods."

ius legationis: the inviolable privileges of ambassadors.

attonita: *confounded.*

Ch 40. arguere: hist. infin., the subject of which is *omnes*.

peccatum: sc. *esse*, in oratio obliqua.

avo: Tiberius, who had adopted Germanicus.

redderet: subj. of exhortation in orat. obliqua. S. G. § 470. In direct speech *redde*.

uxorem: obj. of *perpulit*.

Augusto ortam: she was the daughter of Julia, and so granddaughter of Augustus. See Genealogical Table, Introduction, § 6.

Ch. 41. florentis Caesaris: gen. dependent on *facies*. Translate, "Caesar appeared not as if triumphant."

contuberniis: "from their tents." The abl. without a preposition to denote *place whence* is Tacitean. For this construction with names of countries, cf. *remeantem Armenia* (Ch. 3).

ad tutelam: "to act as an escort." The construction changes to oratio obliqua, giving the exclamations of the soldiers.

ad Treveros externae fidei: the gen. is one of description, dependent on *homines* or *gentem* in apposition to *Treveros*. Cf. the similar usage of the abl. in *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 19). The expression literally is *to the Treveri, men of foreign allegiance.* Nipperdey emends to *ad Treveros et externam fidem*, "to the Treveri and to the protection of foreigners."

Caligulam: the diminutive of *călĭga*, a soldier's boot.

rediret, maneret: subj. of indirect exhortation. S. G. § 470.

recens dolore et ira: *in the freshness of his indignation and anger.* Cf. *recens victoria*, "fresh from his victory."

Ch. 42. liberos: the plural cannot be taken literally, since Caligula was the only child of Germanicus with the army, the other two, Drusus and Nero, having been left at Rome.

sceleris: partitive genitive.

occisus pronepos: *the slaughter of a great-grandson*, referring, of course, to Caligula. For the construction see on *occisus dictator* (Ch. 8).

vobis: dative of the agent, *by you.*

appellem: dubitative subj., *am I to call.*

an civis: the second alternative of a double direct question, the first being *militesne appellem*. S. G. § 414.

hostium ius: *rights due even to foes*. These were defined in the *ius feciale*, part of the *ius gentium*. What was in accordance with the sacred part either of this or of the *ius civile* (in that case called *ius pontificium* or *sacrum*) was labelled *fas*; hence the expression here *fas gentium*.

Quirites: this term—said originally to be derived from *curis*, or *quiris*, a spear, and so meaning "the spearmen," came to denote the Roman people in a civil capacity. The expression was equivalent to an order to disband. The incident is usually said to have occurred in B.C. 47, shortly before Caesar's expedition to Africa and the battle of Thapsus.

Actiacas legiones: *the legions which had conquered at Actium*. After the battle the veterans were landed at Brundisium. While Augustus was passing the winter at Samos, they broke out into mutiny, but returned to their allegiance on the arrival of the emperor.

ut . . . ita: *although . . . yet*.

aspernaretur . . . erat: "if the soldiery should despise me, it *would* be . . ." For the indicative in apodosis see on Ch. 23. The argument of Germanicus is that the legions of Spain and Syria, who had never served under him, would be acting in a shameful manner if they mutinied against him. How much more disgraceful, then, was it that the soldiers whom he had led for so many years should prove unfaithful?

illa: refers to the former of the two—the first legion.

Ch. 43. melius et amantius: supply *fecit*, *ille* is the subject.

Vari: genitive depending on *mortem*, understood.

istud: explained by *subvenisse Romano nomini*.

caelo: local, *in heaven*.

memoria cum militibus: *your memory acting in conjunction with*.

eluant: subj. expressing a wish.

iras civiles: wrath of citizen against citizen.

alia: predicate, *whose demeanour I see is now other than it was*.

dividite turbidos: *separate the mutineers from you*.

Ch. 44. puniret: hortatory subj. dependent on *orabant*.

alumnus: Caligula.

neve: = *neque*.

venturum: sc. *esse* in oratio obliqua, dependent on a verb of saying implied in *excusavit*.

stabant pro contione legiones: probably "the legions stood after the manner of an assembly," *i.e.* not in strict military order. Other renderings are, "took their stand before the assembly;" to this it may be objected that the soldiers were themselves the assembly; or "in front of the tribunal," a version which assumes that the tribunal was occasionally called *contio*.

in suggestu: on the platform, the *tribunal.*

semet: acc., strengthened for *se.*

secuti exemplum veterani mittuntur: "the veterans after following the example were sent."

ceterum: contrasted with *specie.* As in Ch. 10, it is equivalent to *re ipsa*, in reality.

castris: dative. S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

centurionatum egit: *held an election of centurions. C.* literally means *the office of a centurion*, and it is difficult to see how it can acquire the signification of the text. The passage is perhaps corrupt.

ordinem: his rank, which might be anything between the *junior* centurionship of the tenth cohort and the position of *primipilus.* See on Ch. 17.

dona militaria: *decorations.*

solvebatur militia: *he was cashiered.* The *ignominia missio*, discharge with disgrace, opposed to the *missio honesta*, discharge with honour.

Ch. 45. lapidem: *milestone*, sixty Roman miles distant from the capital of the Ubii.

Ch. 46. cognito: abl. absolute, predicate to *qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico.* Cf. *addito*, Ch. 35.

trepida: *lit.* "hurrying to and fro in confusion," *excited.*

invalida et inermia: these neuter plurals are in apposition to *patres et plebem.* Cf. *parentes liberos fratres vilia habere* (*Hist.*, V., 5), to hold as worthless things.

cunctatione ficta: *hypocritical irresolution*, referring to his unwillingness to assume the reins of government on the death of Augustus.

ipsum debuisse: oratio obliqua.

cessuris: *to (mutineers) who would be sure to yield.* Cf. the force of *certaturus bello* (Ch. 45), *with the intention of taking active measures.*

longa experientia: abl. of quality. See on *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 8).

severitatis summum: *supreme with regard to punishments*, gen. of the thing in respect of which.

in Germanias: the two provinces, Upper and Lower Germany.

satis prospectum: impersonal, *adequate provision had been made for.*

Ch. 47. immotum fixumque Tiberio fuit: *lit.* "it was immovable and fixed to T.," i.e. *the purpose of Tiberius remained immovable and fixed;* the expression is borrowed from *Aeneid*, IV., 15, *Si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet.*

caput rerum: *the capital of the Empire.*

ille, hic: the former . . . the latter. S. G. § 366.

quos: *which of the two; uter* would be more correct than *quis;* but

cf. *quis (Pompeius an Caesar) justius induit arma, scire nefas; magno se judice quisque tuetur* (Lucan).

anteferret: dubitative subj. in oratio obliqua, direct speech being *anteferam.*

ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderetur: this depends on a verb of fearing (*verebatur*) to be supplied from *angebant*, "he was afraid lest those he visited second should be incensed by the insult."

excusatum: *excusable, pardonable.*

ut iturus: *as though on the point of departure.* This imitation of the Greek ὡς and participle is not common in other Latin authors than Tacitus.

adornavit: *equipped.*

causatus: from deponent *causor, pleading as an excuse.*

vulgum: as a rule *vulgus* is neuter.

Ch. 48. dandum adhuc spatium: sc. *esse*, acc. and infin. clause governed by *ratus.*

si: *to see whether.*

recenti exemplo: the precedent of punishing the mutineers which had been set at Ara Ubiorum (Ch. 44).

quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat: the antecedent to *quod* is suppressed; *lit.* "whatever in the camp was most loyal."

infamiae, morti: dat. governed by *eximant*, S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

temptatis: abl. absolute, predicate to *quos idoneos rebantur*, *lit.* "those whom they considered fit, having been sounded."

in officio: *true to their allegiance.*

seditioni: for the dative with *promptus*, see on *servitio promptior*, Ch. 2.

quod initium, quis finis: it is difficult to see why the relative adjective (*quod*) should first be used and then the relative pronoun (*quis*). Possibly *quis* for *qui* may be due to euphony.

Ch. 49. omnium: gen. governed by *diversa—the scene was a contrast to all the civil wars.* The idiom is Greek; cf. *sceleris purus*, S. G. § 284.

vescentis: acc. pl., object of *habuerat.*

intellecto: abl. abs.

moderator: forms part of the predicate—*was there to govern their fury.*

animos: for *involare*, followed by the acc. without a prep., see on *genua advolvi*, Ch. 13.

piaculum furoris: the acc. is in apposition to the idea contained in the principal sentence, *as an expiation of their madness.* For this construction see on *documentum fidei*, Ch. 30, and for *piaculum* see note Ch. 30.

posse manes: acc. and infinitive, giving the word of the soldiers in oratio obliqua.

iuncto ponte: ablative of the instrument, *lit.* "sent across by means of a joined bridge" (of boats).

alae : *ala*, lit. a wing, came to be applied to squadrons of cavalry, as the wing of an army was chiefly composed of horsemen.

modestia : *discipline*.

Ch. 50. neque procul : they dwelt close by the right bank of the Rhine.

limitem : a broad boundary wall, commenced by Tiberius in order to define the limits of the Roman possessions to the east of the Rhine.

scindit can hardly mean that Germanicus had to pull down part of the *limes* in order to obtain a passage for his forces and the baggage. Trans. "made his way over."

in limite : *on the barrier*, *i.e.* the *vallum* on the front and rear of Germanicus' camp was formed by the walls of the *limes*.

frontem : object-accusative governed by *munitus* used in a middle sense, *having fortified his front* ; or *frontem* may be acc. of respect. In either case the construction is poetic.

concaedibus : *felled trees* used as a barricade.

eoque : = *ideoque, and therefore.*

hostibus : *by the enemy*, dative of the agent after *incautum*, used in a passive sense = *unguarded.*

obstantia silvarum : *the obstructing growths of the woods* ; for this partitive gen. after a neuter plur. adj. cf. *inculta montium* (Ch. 17).

iuvit : perfect of *iuvo, iuvare.*

ventum : sc. *est*, translate as if personal, "they arrived at."

stratis : abl. absolute with *Marsis* understood.

propter : *by the side of*, *near*.

Ch. 51. avidas : used absolutely, *eager for the fray*.

cecīderant : from *caedo*.

gnarum : *was known*, passive as in Ch. 5.

incessit itineri et proelio : *ordered his advance alike for march and fighting*, dat. of work contemplated, see on *morti deposcit* (Ch. 23).

ducebant : intrans., *led the way.*

porrigeretur : subj. because of the notion of purpose, *waited until the line should defile.*

novissimos : *the rear.*

Ch. 52. quaesivisset : the subject is *Germanicus*. The subjunctive, because it expresses what Tiberius thought.

retulit : *brought under the notice of the Senate. Referre* was the technical term used when the president brought a subject before the senate for discussion ; the question or subject submitted was termed *relatio*. Note, Ch. 13.

in speciem : *for the purpose of effect.*

intentior : *with more warmth.*

Ch. 53. Julia was married thrice—to Marcellus, who died in B.C. 23 ;

to M. Agrippa, the great general of Augustus, until B.C. 12; and to Tiberius. See Historical Index.

Pandateria insula: early prose writers would employ the preposition *in*, but Tacitus uses the abl. of place with the freedom of poetry.

oppido Reginorum: the town of the Regini, i.e. *Rhegium.* It appears more correct to spell the word without the aspirate.

extorrem, infamem, egenam: acc. referring to Julia, and objects of *peremit.*

longinquitate: *length*, usually of distance, here of time.

in matrimonio Marci Agrippae: *when she was the wife of M. A.*

traditam: sc. *Juliam*, object of *accenderat, when she was given to Tiberius, her paramour inflamed her.*

quattuordecim annos: *for fourteen years.* Note the ablative used, contrary to rule, to express *duration* of time.

in prominenti litoris: *on a projecting part of the shore. Prominenti* is an adj.; for the genitive *litoris*, cf. *obstantia silvarum*, Ch. 50, and *umido paludum*, Ch. 61.

vita degeneraverat: *vita* may be either nom. or abl., "his life had deteriorated," or "he had deteriorated in life;" the latter is perhaps more natural.

Ch. 54. sodalium Augustalium: the brotherhood of Augustales was established to supervise the worship of Augustus. They ranked with the other great priesthoods of the state—the *augures, pontifices*, etc. These *sodales Augustales* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Augustales*, an order of priests in the municipia, who were appointed by Augustus and selected from the *libertini*, to attend to the religious rites connected with the worship of the *lares* and *penates*, which Augustus put in places where two or more ways met. The dignity was in the gift of the *decuriones*, who so frequently sold the distinction, that almost all respectable *libertini* in every municipium possessed it, and so formed a middle class intermediate to the decuriones and plebs.

Titus Tatius: the colleague of Romulus in the monarchy.

retinendis sacris: dat. of work contemplated.

ludos Augustales: during the lifetime of Augustus games were celebrated in his honour at Rome and throughout the empire. In many provincial towns a quinquennial festival was established. At Rome the equites were accustomed to meet to celebrate the Emperor's birthday. None of these festivals, however, are to be confused with the *ludi Augustales*, which, as we have Tacitus' authority for asserting, were not founded until the reign of Tiberius.

histrionum: here equivalent to *pantomimi*, who in their mode of acting resembled the modern dancers in the ballet. They did not speak on the stage, but merely acted by gestures, movements, and attitudes.

civile rebatur: for Augustus' relation to the plebs, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, I., § 6.

habitum: *treated.*

Ch. 55. consulibus: here begins the narrative of the events of A.D. 15, which fills the rest of the book.

manente bello: a *justus triumphus* demanded the following conditions: (1) the claimant must have been dictator, consul, or praetor; (2) he must have been the actual commander-in-chief; (3) *the campaign must have been terminated, and the country reduced to tranquillity;* (4) not less than 5,000 of the enemy must have fallen; (5) the contest must have been against a foreign foe.

praecepit: *anticipated.*

utrumque perfidia aut fide: *one* (Arminius) *for his treachery, the other* (Segestes) *for his loyalty.*

parari rebellionem: acc. and infin. clause dependent on *aperuit.*

itum: sc. *est a Germanis.*

ipsi: "to Varus."

gener invisus inimici soceri: *the hated son-in-law of a father-in-law who was already his enemy. Soceri* is sometimes taken as the plur., referring to Segestes, the *socer* of Arminius, and Segimerus, the father of Arminius and *socer* of his wife Thusnelda; but the former rendering appears simpler. The latter is, of course, the meaning if a comma is inserted after *invisus.*

Ch. 56. tumultuarias: soldiers hastily levied in the case of a *tumultus*, or for any emergency.

paterni praesidii: the ramparts built by his father, the elder Drusus.

ad munitiones viarum: *to make roads.*

rarum illi caelo: for this parenthetic expression, cf. *rarum etiam inter hostes* (Ch. 37), *dubium an quaesita morte* (Ch. 5). **caelo**: *climate.*

regredienti: dat. of interest, *were feared for him when returning.*

pagis vicisque: *cantons and villages.*

caput: *chief town.*

quod illi moris: sc. *est, what is his usual custom. Moris* is possessive gen., used as a predicate. It is akin to the gen. in such expressions as *sapientis est pauca loqui.* S. G. § 265.

fuerat animus Cheruscis: trans. "It had been the intention of the Cherusci;" *Cheruscis,* dat. of the possessor with *sum.* S. G. § 296.

popularium: "those belonging to his own *populus,*" "his fellow-countrymen."

Ch. 57. quanto quis audacia promptus: "the more ready in daring a man is." Note that the positive is used instead of the more regular comparative, and that *quis* is equivalent to *aliquis.*

conscientia: *consciousness of guilt.*

Germaniae: the German tribes dwelling to the east of the Rhine between that river and the Elbe, not the provinces known as Superior and Inferior. The revolt referred to was the general conflagration which broke out in A.D. 9 after the *Variana clades* (note Ch. 10).

aram Ubiorum: the modern Cologne (see Ch. 39).

in ripam : of the Rhine.
pretium fuit : for *operae pretium fuit—it was worth while.*
sinum : the folds of her dress beneath the breast.
praedae : predicative dat. (S. G. § 297), *given as booty.*

Ch. 58. ex quo : sc. *tempore, ever since.*
civitate : the rights of a Roman citizen.
ex vestris utilitatibus, *in accordance with your interests;* for the prep. cf. *ex more*, "according to custom." The clause *Romanis . . conducere* as well as *pacem quam bellum* is governed by *probabam*, which, however, is really appropriate to the latter only [instance of Zeugma]. Supply *judicabam* from *probabam* to govern the first clause.
novissima : *last*, as in Ch. 51.
tui copia : *an opportunity of making overtures to you = tui conveniendi copia.*
necessitate : *force, compulsion.*
vetere in provincia : *in the old province*, that part of Germania lying to the west of the Rhine, called *vetus*, because acquired by the Romans at an earlier period than the districts to the east of the Rhine (known as *nova provincia*), which were for the most part lost by the Varian disaster.
auctore Tiberio : the title was bestowed by the senate with the approval of the Emperor.
virilis sexus : gen. of description qualifying *stirpem.*

Ch. 59. dediti Segestis : "of the surrender of Segestes;" for the idiom cf. *occisus dictator*, Ch. 8.
ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat : *according as men were disinclined for or desired war;* lit. "according as to each party war came to willing or unwilling men." This modification of the dat. of reference (*quibusque*) by an adj. or pres. part. is a Greek idiom. Cf. θέλοντι, βουλομένῳ, ἄκοντί μοί ἐστιν.
spe vel dolore : abl. of manner. The use of the simple abl. is Tacitean, earlier writers employing the prep. *cum* in similar expressions. S. G. § 312.
super : = *praeter*, "in addition to."
uxoris uterus : *his unborn child.* For *uterus . . . subjectus* cf. *dediti Segestis* above.
egregium patrem : the oratio obliqua which now commences is continued to the end of the chapter.
tres legiones : the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth. They were never reconstituted, the two legions which took their place being styled the twenty-first and second.
sacerdotium hominum : *the priesthood of mere men.* The temple in which Segimundus had officiated appears to have been dedicated to Julius and Augustus, mortals.
† In place of *hominum*, *hostium* has been proposed. Also *hoc unum* preceded instead of followed by the colon.

virgas et secures: the ensigns of the higher Roman magistrates.

togam: the distinctive dress of the Roman people, called in consequence the *gens togata* (e.g. *Aen.*, I., 282).

ignorantia: abl. of cause.

inexperta, nescia: both passive. Cf. *gnarus* and *ignarus* (Ch. 5).

ille: "the great" used ironically.

inter numina dicatus: *consecrated as a deity.*

colonias novas: new settlements (of Germans) like that which Segestes had just received from the Romans, not fresh colonies of Romans in Germany.

Ch. 60. vetere auctoritate: abl. of quality, for which see on *multa dicendi arte* (Ch. 9).

distrahendo hosti: dat. of work contemplated "for the purpose of diverting the enemy." The construction is scarcely found in earlier prose, in which *ad distrahendum hostem*, or one of the ordinary expressions of purpose, would be used.

finibus Frisiorum: abl. of direction, practically equivalent to *per fines F.* Cf. *ut porta triumphali duceretur funus* (Ch. 8). This construction is again characteristic of the silver age.

praedictum: *above-mentioned*, the Amisia.

lacus: of these L. Flevo was the chief. The shallow *Zuyder Zee* now covers the ground these lakes occupied.

amnes inter: prepositions of two syllables sometimes follow their substantives in later Latin, *e.g. coram* in *dis et patria coram* (*Ann.*, IV., 8).

Ch. 61. duci: *i.e.* Varus.

occulta saltuum, umido paludum: *obscure defiles, marshy pools;* with these partitive genitives dependent on neut. adjectives, cf. *obstantia silvarum* (Ch. 50).

aggeres: *embankments, causeways.*

principiis: *the headquarters*, the open space at the centre of a Roman camp where the *praetorium* and the *augurale* and *tribunal* for addressing the soldiers were situated. It was where the *via praetoria*, leading from the *porta praetoria*, intersected the transverse *via principalis.* As the size of the entire camp was proportionate to that of the *principia*, they could estimate from the data of the latter the dimensions of the whole.

dein: they advanced, and came across a much smaller encampment.

primorum ordinum centuriones: see on Ch. 17. The expression probably includes the senior centurion of the *triarii* of each cohort.

pugnam aut vincula elapsi: the acc. is Tacitean variation for the dative or prep. and ablative of earlier Latin. See on *genua advolveretur* (Ch. 13).

quot patibula: "the number of gibbets."

scrobes: *trench*, probably for burying the prisoners alive. The Germans would hardly go to the trouble of honouring a hated foe with interment.

Ch. 62. sextum post cladis annum: *in the sixth year after the disaster*; cf. δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων, Hdt., VI., 46. The regular expression is *sexto anno post cladem*, and the acc. is due to the influence of *post*. Cf. in dates *ante diem tertium Kalendas*, S. G. § 925.

exstruendo tumulo: *for erecting a mound*; the dative gerundive here denotes purpose, as in *perferendis mandatis*, Ch. 23, cf. note, Ch. 60.

Tiberio: dat. of the agent.

formidolosiorem hostium: *more disposed to be afraid of the enemy*. *Formidolosus*, which in Cicero has an active sense, "causing fear," "terrible," is here passive, "feeling fear." The genitive is by analogy with such expressions as *offensionum pavidus*, *anxius salutis*.

auguratu: the augurs were a college whose duty it was to observe and report supernatural signs, to give decisions on points of ceremonial law, to advise on the expiation of prodigies, etc. As instituted by Romulus or Numa Pompilius (whence *vetustissimis caerimoniis*), they were three in number, one for each tribe. The Ogulnian law, B.C. 300, increased them from four to nine, Sulla to 15, and Caesar to 16. Under the Empire they were nominated by the *princeps* without restriction as to number. The importance of the auspices is pointedly summed up by Livy (VI., 14): "Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace, domo militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?"

feralia: *funeral ceremonies*, from *fero*, carrying out the dead in funeral procession. The ceremonial rule here alluded to was not strictly binding on any priestly official save the Pontifex Maximus.

Ch. 63. eripi: *lit.* "that the plain should be wrested from the enemy."

subsidiariae cohortes: *cohorts of the reserve*.

trudebantur . . . ni instruxisset: for the indicative in apodosis, cf. *ni pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio aberant* (Ch. 23), *deferebat in pectus, ni attinuissent* (Ch. 35), *circumveniebatur, ni opposuisset* (Ch. 65).

gnaram = *notam*, known; so in Ch. 5.

manibus aequis: *without advantage to either side*; cf. *aequo Marte*.

litore Oceani: *by way of the shore of the Ocean*; for the ablative see on *finibus Frisiorum*, Ch. 60.

pontes longos: *the causeway known as* the Long Bridges.

cetera: the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the embankment was bog and marsh; further away were gradually sloping uplands covered with forests (*silvae paulatim adclives*).

compendiis viarum: *short cuts*. *Compendium* is lit. "*that which is kept weighed together*;" hence, as the opposite of *dispendium*, "profit acquired by saving"; then "space saved in travel."

militem: the Roman soldiery.

opus: before this supply *alii*, "that some might begin the repairs."

Ch. 64. nīsi: from *nitor*. It here governs the infin. (*perfringere, inferre*); it is usually followed by *ut* and subj.

ad gradum: *for foothold*. *Gradus* denotes a firm position or stand, as in *gradu demoti, de gradu deiecti.*

pila: the distinctive weapon of the Roman soldiers of the line, each of whom carried two. It was an iron-headed spear about six feet nine inches long.

Cheruscis: dat. of the possessor. Tacitus proceeds to enumerate the advantages enjoyed by the Germans in the fight.

adversae pugnae: for the dat. with *exemit*, see S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

quantum: object of *vertere*, i.e., *verterunt*. *Circum* is an adverb qualifying *surgentibus*.

in subiecta: "the low-lying country."

mersa humo: abl. abs., as also is *obruto*, the subject of which is *quod effectum operis; lit.* "what of the work was already finished being submerged."

stipendium: *campaign*, see on Ch. 17.

silvis: *in the woods;* for this and other local ablatives without a preposition see on *remeantem Armenia* (Ch. 3).

tenuem: *thin*, when you looked at the line of march transversely.

Ch. 65. subiecta vallium: *the low-lying valleys;* for this part. genitive dependent on a neut. plur. adj., cf. *alia honorum* (Ch. 9), *strata viarum* (Verg.).

passim adiacerent vallo: *lay scattered along the ramparts.*

quies: here bears the derived sense of *dream*. So *vanae monstra quietis* (St. *Thebaid*).

oblĭtum: from *oblino*, "smeared."

obsecutus: sc. *esse*, dependent on *visus est*, which naturally takes the nominative, S. G. § 232. **intendentem**: *i.e.* Varus, obj. of *reppulisse*, itself having *manus* as object; *thrust him away as he stretched out his hands;* v.l. *manum intendentis.*

umentia ultra: for the preposition following its substantive see on *amnes inter*, Ch. 60.

quamquam libero incursu: *although a free passage for attack was offered him*. The clause is abl. absolute, strangely modified by *quamquam* (like the Greek ὡς), which, as a rule, is followed by a finite verb, e.g. *quamquam liber incursus erat.*

ut haesere: "when . . . stuck fast." *Ut* = *when*, has to be repeated with the clauses down to *lentae . . . aures*, but in the interposed *utque tali in tempore* it means *as* (*is usual*).

lubrico paludum: *slippery marshes;* for this part. gen. dependent on a neut. sing. adj., cf. *humido paludum* (Ch. 61).

limosa humo: notice the abl. without a preposition (note, Ch. 3).

circumveniebatur . . . ni opposuisset: for the moods see on *aberant*, Ch. 23.

petendus agger: *material for the mound had to be looked for*, *e.g.* earth, stakes.

amissa: supply *sunt ea* before *per quae*. "The implements, by which . . . , were lost."

Ch. 66. decumana: the gate on the opposite side of the camp to the *porta praetoria*. The latter would be the first entered by the foe, whom it always faced.

comperto: abl. abs. predicate to *vanam esse formidinem*.

eundum erat: impersonal. Trans. *they would have to pass*. *Eundum* is considered by Roby to be nominative of the gerund (lit. *there was a going*), not neuter of the gerundive, as in S. G. § 536.

Ch. 67. principia: see on Ch. 61.

temporis: this genitive, dependent on *monet*, is due to analogy with *admonet*, e.g. *admonebat alium egestatis* (Sall., *Cat.*).

ea: i.e. *arma*.

expugnandi: is governed by *spe*—"in the hope of storming it."

succederent: subj. because of the implied notion of *purpose*.

perveniri: *a way is open*.

nulla ambitione: *without any partiality*, unmoved by entreaties on the part of individuals.

pedes: nom. sing. of *pedes, peditis* used collectively, *the infantry;* so *Germanus* = *the Germans* in the following chapter.

Ch. 68. spe, cupidine et . . . sententiis are all modal ablatives, modifying *agebat* (passed their time).

sinerent: indirect jussive subj. dependent on *suadente Arminio*.

atrociora: *more spirited; ferocia* and *ferox* are used similarly.

proruunt fossas: *they filled the ditches with earth*. The obstacles to storming a camp were the ditch (*fossa*) and the mound (*agger* and *vallum*). The Germans surmounted the first by filling in the ditch or crossing it on hurdles, and they were engaged in scaling the mound when the Romans poured out of the camp, and attacked them in the rear.

raro: *stationed at distant intervals*, forming an abl. abs. with *milite*. *Super* is adverbial—*on the mound*.

cornua, tubae: for the distinction between these see on Ch. 28.

hosti . . . cogitanti: dat. of person judging, governed by *offunduntur*, "to an enemy . . . expecting."

tanto maiora: *with all the more terror*. Note the omission of the comparative in the protasis, *quanto inopina*.

incauti: *disconcerted*.

integer: (from *in, tango*) *unhurt*.

Ch. 69. circumventi exercitus fama: *a rumour that the army was surrounded* (*lit.* "of the surrounded army"); cf. *occisus dictator*, Ch. 8.

Gallias peti: acc. and infin. dependent on the idea of saying

contained in *fama*. The plur. *Gallias* denotes the provinces Gallia Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, and Belgica.

ni prohibuisset . . . erant: see on *aberant* (Ch. 23).

ingens animi: of high spirit; *animi* is probably locative. See on Ch. 32.

adversus externos: *to attack a foreign foe.* Tiberius, always jealous of Germanicus, was afraid that Agrippina was plotting against himself.

tanquam parum ambitiose: sc. *esset*, "as though, forsooth, popular applause was not courted enough." The primary meaning of *ambitio* (note Ch. 15) is canvassing, and the adv. here has this force.

gregali habitu: the dress of a common soldier; *miles gregarius* = one of the *grex* or herd (Ch. 16).

odia in longum iaciens: *sowing seeds of hatred for a distant future.*

quae = *ut ea;* the subj. *reconderet* is thus final.

Ch. 70. reciproco sideret: supply with this *levior*, *might ground less heavily at the ebb-tide. Reciproco* qualifies *mare*, to be supplied from the preceding *mari;* and the abl. is one of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.).

sidere aequinoctii: *the season of the equinox.* The autumnal equinox is meant.

incerta: (*lit.* "uncertain things") *quicksands.*

modo . . . modo: "at one time . . . at another;" **pectore**, like *ore*, is governed by *tenus.*

subtracto solo: the soldiers got out of their depth.

involvebantur: sc. *fluctibus, was attacked by the waves.*

utensilibus: *things for use*, sometimes in the modern sense of utensils; here of necessaries, provisions.

illic = *apud illos*, refers, contrary to rule, to the *latter* of two alternatives (*ii, quos hostis circumsidet*). For the adverb equivalent to the pronoun cf. *illuc* = *ad illum* in *illuc cuncta vergere.* **usus**: "resource."

† **Visurgin** is an impossible reading, since Vitellius had commenced his march at this river, and was journeying to meet Germanicus and his fleet at the Amisia.

Ch. 71. Galliae: see above, Ch. 69. **Hispaniae**: *i.e.* Terraconensis and Baetica.

propria: *from his own resources.*

Ch. 72. triumphalia insignia: the honour of an actual triumph at Rome was confined after the reign of Augustus to members of the reigning dynasty, but successful generals received the *triumphalia insignia* or *ornamenta*, such as the chaplet of laurel, the *toga picta*, the *tunica palmata*, the *sella curulis*, and the sceptre of ivory.

nomen patris patriae: "the title of Father of his country." It will be remembered that this was given to Cicero on the suppression of

the Catilinarian Conspiracy. It was afterwards conferred on Julius Caesar and on Augustus.

in acta sua jurari: "an oath of allegiance to be taken to his acts." This was quite a different thing from the *sacramentum in verba Caesaris*, which was an oath of allegiance to the person of the Emperor, taken at the commencement of a new reign. The present oath was one of obedience to the decrees of the Princeps, taken every year, on the first of January, by magistrates and senators. See note on Ch. 7.

quantoque plus adeptus foret: *in proportion as he obtained more.*

civilis: such as became a citizen in a state where all were free and equal.

legem majestatis: Tacitus proceeds to state that trials for *majestas* (or, in full, *laesa majestas*) under the Republic were confined to cases of maladministration in a public capacity, and crimes against the state. Under the Empire they were extended not only to what are called in English *overt acts* of hostility, but also to speeches and writings directed against the Emperor, the representative of the state. Some illustrations of the new stretch of meaning given to it follow (Ch. 73, 4), and its growth is treated in *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, V., § 16.

an iudicia maiestatis redderentur: *whether the treason-courts should be revived.* Others take *redderentur* as = *darentur*, "cases of treason should be brought to trial." *Do, dico, addico*, are the *tria verba praetoris—do ius; dico iudicium; addico in supplicium.* There were under the Empire three courts of criminal jurisdiction, each final, but each under the influence of the princeps. (1) *The Praetor's Court*, in which jurors (*iudices*) gave a verdict on the facts, and the presiding praetor stated what the prescribed penalty was. Here the princeps made out the *album iudicum* (whence the jurors were taken), sometimes sat *in cornu tribunalis* (Ch. 75), and might give his *calculus Minervae*, if the jury were equally divided. (2) *The Consul's Court* (non-existent in Republican times since the establishment of the praetorship in B.C. 367), with the senate as his assessors; though this court could prescribe the penalty, its execution might be prevented by the princeps' *intercessio* (cf. III. 51, 3). (3) *The Princeps' Court, paucis familiarium adhibitis* (III. 10). This was quite a novelty, but was little used by Tiberius, who preferred to escape the odium of condemning. In the case of Granius Marcellus (I. 74) both (1) and (2) are mentioned.

auctoribus: dat. of agent.

Ch. 73. modicis equitibus: *knights of moderate fortune*, not, *e.g.*, *equites splendidi*. For the different ranks of knights see on Ch. 7, and Introd. § 4 (3).

cultores Augusti: these were quite distinct from the *sodales Augusti* of Ch. 54. It seems to have been the custom for the great families at Rome to institute private worship of Augustus in their houses, and to admit to this ceremonial persons of inferior rank.

mimi: actors in mimes, a dramatic performance which differed from comedy in consisting more of gestures and mimicry than of spoken dialogue. The scenes were drawn from common life, and were not remarkable for their decency. They gained much popularity under the Empire.

mancipasset: *had sold. Mancipium* (*lit.* "a taking by hand") is the technical legal term for the formal taking possession of a purchase or sale.

crimini: dat. of the predicate, *as an accusation.* So *curae* in *dis curae* at the end of the chapter.

sua: of Tiberius, *i.e.* Livia.

Ch. 74. praetorem Bithyniae: Bithynia was a senatorial province of the second rank. See Introduction, § 4 (7, *b*). Its governor was a man who had filled the office of praetor, whence he was sometimes called pro-praetor or praetor. His ordinary title was, however, in obedience to a decree of Augustus, pro-consul, and he was attended by his quaestor.

maiestatis postulavit: *impeached for treason.* For the genitive see S. G. § 280.

subscribente: signing his name at the bottom of the indictment as seconding the charge.

celebrem: *frequent.* The walk of life alluded to is that of a *delator*, or informer.

ex contemptis metuendi: *objects of fear instead of objects of contempt.*

inevitabile: *from which there was no escape.* Notice how *in. crimen* is in apposition to the preceding acc. and infin. sentence.

sitam: $=$*positam*, "placed."

exarsit: the subject is Tiberius.

palam: the Emperor declared that he would not be content with a silent vote (*per discessionem*), but would first state his reasons.

iuratum: on important occasions it was customary for speakers to emphasize their views by a *iusiurandum.* Cf. Tiberius' procedure in Ch. 14.

quo . . . fieret: *this he did in order that . . .* ; the clause is the explanation of Tacitus, not part of the Emperor's speech.

quanto incautius, paenitentia patiens: "in proportion as his explosion of anger had been thoughtless, relenting all the more from regret." We should expect in the apodosis *paenitentia tanto patientior* ; but see on Ch. 57.

tulit: *he voted.*

de pecuniis repetundis: *of extortion. Pecuniae repetundae* denoted sums of money which the allies or private individuals claimed to recover from magistrates and judices, on the ground that they had been improperly taken by the latter in their public capacity. The legislation on this subject—which began with the establishment of the first *quaestio perpetua* for such cases, by the *Lex Calpurnia*, B.C. 149—was codified in the *Lex Julia* of B.C. 59, which, in addition

to compelling the restoration of the money extorted, disqualified persons convicted from acting as witnesses, judices, or senators.

reciperatores : a body of *judices*, selected from the senate by the praetor, which had jurisdiction chiefly in cases brought by the provincials against Romans.

Ch. 75. curuli : sc. *sella*, the curule chair on which the praetor sat. For the judicial functions of the Emperor see note, Ch. 72, and Introduction, § 4 (1).

ambitum : *canvassing, corruption.*

mole publicae viae : *the massive character* (or *thrust*) *of the public road ; i.e.* the huge stones employed in making it had rendered the foundations of his house insecure.

ductu aquarum : *aqueduct.*

aerarii praetoribus : the treasury of the state was originally entrusted to the quaestors and their assistants—the *tribuni aerarii ;* but in B.C. 49, when no quaestors were elected, it was transferred to the aediles, in whose care it appears to have been until B.C. 28, when Augustus gave it to the praetors and men of praetorian standing.

per honesta : *in an honourable way.*

veniam ordinis petenti : *who asked leave to resign his senatorial rank.*

deciens sestertium : supply *centena millia ;* the sum is a million sesterces.

conperto : abl. abs. predicate to *paternas . . . esse.*

Ch. 76. libri Sibyllini : according to the legend these books were presented to Tarquinius Superbus by a Sibyl of Cumae. They were probably in Greek characters. They were kept in a stone chest under ground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and only consulted when a national calamity or plague occurred. When the temple where they were preserved was burnt in B.C. 82, envoys were sent to the East to make fresh collections, and these were deposited at Rome. Augustus caused a general recension to be made, compelled private persons who possessed any Sibylline oracles to give them up, and placed those which were considered genuine in two gilded caskets, at the base of the statue of Apollo, in the Palatine temple.

perinde : *equally.*

in praesens : *for the present.* **proconsulari imperio** : *from the proconsular administration.* The provinces were to be converted from senatorial to imperial, Introd., § 4 (7). The change was only temporary, as Claudius gave them back to the senate in A.D. 44. Among the causes which induced the provincials to prefer the rule of the Emperor were—(*a*) The *legati Caesaris*, administered for a term of years, the senatorial governors for one year only ; (*b*) the mode of living of the former was more modest than that of the latter ; (*c*) sometimes a *legatus* governed three or four imperial provinces, thus lightening the burdens of the provincials in proportion.

edendis gladiatoribus: dat. governed by *praesedit*, "presided over the gladiatorial shows."

quamquam vili: *quamvis* is more frequently employed than *quamquam* to modify adjectives.

ipse: Tiberius.

non crediderim: the subj. expresses a modified assertion, "I cannot believe."

proximo priore anno: a redundant expression for *proximo anno*, "in the preceding year."

Ch. 77. praetoriae cohortis: "*a* praetorian cohort." See on Ch. 7, and Introd., § 4 (7).

ius virgarum: *the right of scourging.*

intercessit: *used his right of veto* (as tribune).

lucaris: *pay. Lucar* was a forest (*lucus*) tax imposed for the support of players.

fautorum: *their supporters*, bands like those of which Percennius had been a leader (Ch. 17).

egredientes in publicum: *when they came out into the street. Egredientes* is object of *cingerent*, to which *equites* is subject.

spectarentur: they were not to give representations in private houses. An emendation of Wölfflin gives *sectarentur*, "should follow."

Ch. 78. centesimam: a tax of one per cent. on things sold by auction. See *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. V., §§ 10-12.

militare aerarium: this was a separate treasury established in A.D. 6 by Augustus to provide for the pay and support of the army. Among the taxes by which it was replenished was the *centesimam* mentioned above.

simul: "that even with it," "even when this tax was imposed."

vicensimo: instead of at the sixteenth year, a concession which the legions had extorted from Germanicus.

Ch. 79. flumina: the chief were the Clanis, Nar, Allia, Cremera, Anio. **lacus**: *e.g.* the Veline lake.

ne Clanis transferretur: there is a large tract of marshy ground between the Clanis and the Arnus, and it was proposed to drain off the waters of the Clanis into the Arnus by means of canals. See Index, *sub* Arnus.

Interamnates: *the people of Interamna*, from nom. *Interamnas.*

pessum ituros: *would go to ruin.* For *pessum*, acc. of *motion*, see note, Ch. 9.

quin: illative particle, *moreover.*

Ch. 80. prorogatur provincia: *the command of the province was prolonged.* Moesia was an imperial province, in which government for a term of years was not unusual. See on Ch. 76.

id morum fuit: *it was one of Tiberius' characteristics. Morum*

(more usually *moris*) is a possessive genitive used predicatively. S. G. § 265.

semel placita: "what had once been resolved upon," object of *servavisse*.

sunt qui existiment: for this consecutive subj. see S. G. § 492.

Ch. 81. comitiis consularibus: if the elections to the consulship were transferred to the senate in A.D. 14 (see Ch. 15), this is a figurative expression, like that used of the choice by an emperor of his successive *comitia imperii* (*Hist.*, I., 14).

illo principe: in the reign of Tiberius.

ausim: this perf. subj. expresses a mild assertion. Cf. *crediderim* in Ch. 76. *Ausim* (for *aud-sim*) consists of *aud-*, the stem of *audere*, + *-s-*, aorist tense ending, + *im*, the personal ending of the subj., originally optative (cf. *sim*, 1st sing., pres. subj. of *esse* and the Greek εἴην, originally ἐ-σι-ην).

subtractis nominibus: *suppressing the names of the candidates.* The people had now lost their right of creating magistrates, and the elections were in the hands of the senate. It is not, however, quite clear whether the elections to the consulship were transferred to the senate, as those to the praetorship were in A.D. 14 (Ch. 14, 15). Probably they were, and under Tiberius there was at any rate this difference between the two: for the consulship the Emperor nominated (note on Ch. 14) two candidates only, and others had no chance; while for the praetorship Tiberius *commended* four, who were elected without canvassing; and the remaining vacancies, usually eight, were actually contested by candidates, eight of whom were nominated by the princeps, and others by the consuls. Before a man could stand for the praetorship he had to pass through (1) either the *vigintivirate* or the *military tribuneship* (generally both), (2) the *quaestorship*, and (3) the *tribunate of the plebs* or the *curule aedileship*. It may be noted that the first pair were open to *equites;* the quaestorship gave admission to the senate, to which also the Emperor, like the early kings, might give admission without any official novitiate. These last were called *adlecti a principe.*

professos: *given in their names to him, offered themselves as candidates.*

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

A.

Achaia, a Roman province including Greece Proper, Thessaly, and Epirus, founded on the dissolution (B.C. 146) of the Achaean league, whence its name. Originally a senatorial province, it was on the petition of its inhabitants transferred for a time to the Emperor (Ch. 76), who placed it under the same governor as Moesia and Macedonia (Ch. 80).

Adrăna (*Eder*), a German stream which flows into the Fulda, itself an affluent of the Weser, near Cassel (Ch. 56).

Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, the greatest of Augustus' generals, commanded in many wars from B.C. 41 to B.C. 12; among them the Perusian, the campaigns against Sextus Pompeius, and the battle of Actium. By his first wife he had a daughter Vipsania, who became the wife of Tiberius and mother of the younger Drusus; by his third, Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he had two daughters, Julia, married to L. Aemilius Paulus, and Agrippina, married to Germanicus; and three sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar and

Agrippa Postumus, so called from being born after his father's death. His brutal manners rendered him intensely distasteful to Augustus, who banished him to the island of Planasia, A.D. 7. The latter, however, according to report, visited his grandson shortly before his death (Ch. 6), and seemed disposed to relent. Any such intentions were frustrated by his decease, and on the accession of Tiberius Agrippa was promptly put to death.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, by whom she had nine children, among them Caligula and the younger Agrippina, accompanied her husband to the Rhine, and shared in the perils of his campaigns and the mutinies of the legions. She never flinched before danger, but her temper was violent, and caused her to be regarded with dislike and suspicion by Tiberius and Livia. On the death of Germanicus in the East (A.D. 19) she returned to Italy, was banished to the

island of Pandateria by Tiberius in A.D. 30, and there three years later died, probably from starvation.

Albis (the *Elbe*) rises in the interior of Germany (*Bohemia*), not far from the Danube, and after flowing in a N.W. direction falls into the *Mare Germanicum*. It was first seen by the Romans under the elder Drusus in B.C. 9. The last general who approached it was Tiberius in A.D. 5, and the defeat of Varus in A.D. 9 destroyed all possibility of the Romans making it the boundary of their empire.

Amisia (the *Ems*), a stream of no great length, which rises in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*. On it Drusus had a naval engagement with the Bructeri in B.C. 12. Thither Germanicus despatched Caecina (Ch. 60) with forty cohorts, which he himself joined afterwards with another force.

Antonius, Marcus, the triumvir, was born in B.C. 83. After serving in Spain and the East he became one of Caesar's legates in Gaul. Tribune in 49, and the most trusted servant of Caesar during the Civil War, he gradually rose in importance, until on the dictator's death, in March B.C. 44, he made use of his position as consul in such a way that he was accepted by the army as their chief, and became the most powerful Roman of his time. A rival then appeared in the youthful Octavius, who after some active fighting against him on behalf of the senate, became reconciled to him at a conference near Bononia, Oct., B.C. 43, and the Second Triumvirate was instituted (Ch. 10, and notes). Together with Octavius he defeated the Senatorians at the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42), after which he obtained the eastern half of the Empire. After several disputes with Octavius, and some warfare in Parthia, he was in B.C. 31 defeated at Actium, and committed suicide at Alexandria in the following year.

Appuleius, Sex., consul in conjunction with Sex. Pompeius for the year A.D. 14.

Apronius, L., in A.D. 15 served in Germany under Germanicus, who employed him in operations against the Chatti (Ch. 56). His services were rewarded with the insignia of a triumph (Ch. 72). He was subsequently proconsul of Africa and praetor of Lower Germany. While holding the latter office he engaged in a war with the Frisii, and in it lost his life, A.D. 20. (He is probably not to be identified with the L. Apronius of Ch. 29, the latter being an *eques*, the former a consular.)

Arminius (*Hermann*), son of Segimerus, was a chieftain of the Cherusci (*q.v.*), and *turbator Germaniae* (Ch. 55). While still young he commanded a body of his countrymen in Roman pay, and for his services was presented with the franchise and enrolled among the *equites*. In A.D. 9 he secretly threw off his fidelity to Rome, attacked Varus, the Roman general, when entangled in the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, and destroyed his three legions. In A.D. 15 he defended his country against the invasion of Germanicus, at first with success, but being persuaded by his uncle Inguiomerus to attack the Roman camp, he was beaten off, and the Romans gained the Rhine in safety. In the same year his father-in-law and enemy Segestes went over to the

Romans, taking with him Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius. In A.D. 16 he was again engaged in warfare with Germanicus. Three years later he was assassinated on the suspicion of aiming at despotic power.

Arnus (*Arno*), the chief river of Etruria, rises in the Apennines, and after flowing by Pisae, falls into the Tyrrhenian sea. A proposal (Ch. 79) to turn the waters of the Clanis into it, in order to prevent the overflow of the Tiber, was successfully opposed by the people of Florentia (*Firenze*). The *Val di Chiana*, which runs N. and E. between Arezzo and Chiusi, is so level that it drains just as naturally into the Arno as into the Tiber.

Arruntius, L., son of L. Arruntius, the consul of B.C. 22, and commander of Octavius' fleet at Actium, was himself consul in A.D. 6. He was a man of wealth and ability, said by Augustus on his death-bed to be both worthy of empire and capable of aspiring to it (Ch. 13). He held a leading position in the senate during the reign of Tiberius. He moved a resolution in the senate when debating on the honours to be paid to Augustus (Ch. 8), and is mentioned in Ch. 76 as being commissioned to devise measures against the overflow of the Tiber. In A.D. 37 he was accused of being cognisant of the crimes of Albucilla, and committed suicide.

Asprenas, L., possibly nephew of Varus, proconsul of Africa in A.D. 14, is said by some authorities to have despatched soldiers at the orders of Tiberius to put Sempronius Gracchus to death (Ch. 53).

Augustus, the title by which the first Emperor of Rome was known after he became sole ruler. His original name was **C. Octavius**, and he was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, the dictator, who adopted him as his heir B.C. 45, and sent him to learn the art of war in Illyria. On the murder of Caesar, B.C. 44, by Brutus and Cassius, Octavius came to Italy to claim his rights as heir. He conciliated the people by paying to them the legacies which Caesar had left them, and was appointed general by the senate against Antonius. He soon after joined Antonius, and with Lepĭdus, another senatorial general, set up the Second Triumvirate, B.C. 43. In B.C. 42 the three defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in Macedonia, and divided the world between them. They soon quarrelled. Lepidus was the first to be deprived of his power, B.C. 36; and five years later, B.C. 31, Octavianus crushed Antonius, who was assisted by Cleopatra, at Actium in Epirus. He now became sole ruler, and devoted himself to reducing the Roman world to order. He defeated all his opponents, and extended his empire from the Euphrates to the Rhine, even reaching as far as the Elbe for a time. He did all in his power to improve Rome and the Romans by justice and by the example of his own modest life. He was the patron of many of the writers of his time. He died A.D. 14, and was succeeded by Tiberius, his stepson.

Aurelius, Pius, a senator whose house was damaged by a public road (Ch. 75).

B.

Bathyllus, an actor, or rather pantomimist (*mimus*) of some influence with Maecenas (Ch. 54).

Belgae, the collective designation of a number of tribes of German origin, who crossed the Rhine and settled in the N.E. of Gaul, called from them Belgica.

Bithynia, a country of Asia Minor, was constituted a senatorial province by Augustus. Its boundaries varied from time to time; but in the reign of Tiberius it embraced not only Bithynia proper, but also Paphlagonia, extending along the Propontis and the coast of the Euxine, from the river Rhyndacus to the Halys. Nicomedia, Nicaea, Amastris, and Sinope were its chief towns, and the Sangarius and Billaeus its most important rivers.

Blaesus, Junius, was commander of the three Pannonian legions at the death of Augustus. In the mutiny which then broke out he acted with courage and resolution, but found himself unable to restore order without external aid. In A.D. 21 he was promoted to the government of Africa, and during his tenure of office crushed the insurgent Tacfarinas, receiving in consequence the rare honour of a salutation as imperator and of a triumph at Rome. The fall of his nephew, Seianus, in A.D. 31, brought about his fall. He at once lost his priestly offices, and in A.D. 36 committed suicide.

Bructeri, a German tribe, who dwelt on both banks of the Amisia, and occupied the country between that river and the Lupia. They joined in the attack on Varus (A.D. 9), and carried off the standard of the nineteenth legion. They were again roused to hostilities by the advance of Germanicus (A.D. 14), but were defeated by Lucius Stertinius (Ch. 60).

Brutus, Lucius, according to the legend, feigned stupidity to escape death at the hands of Tarquin the Arrogant. On the death of Lucretia he threw off the mask, and induced the people to expel their king. He was then chosen one of the two consuls for the year (B.C. 509).

Brutus, Decimus, first became known as one of Julius Caesar's officers, under whom he served in the Gallic and civil wars. He was then placed in command of Further Gaul, and was actually promised that of Cisalpine Gaul (B.C. 44), when he joined in the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of his old general. A dispute with Antonius about the last-named province led to open war, and Brutus was blockaded in Mutina. The siege was raised by the help of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and he escaped for a while, but in B.C. 43 was betrayed to Antonius, and put to death by him with the assent of Octavius.

Brutus, Marcus Junius, the brother of the preceding, also received many benefits from Caesar, who pardoned him after the battle of Pharsalia, invested him with the government of Cisalpine Gaul (B.C. 46), and was preparing to bestow that of Macedonia upon him. The

influence of Cassius, and the legend of his ancestor Lucius, worked upon his feeble mind, and he took an active part in the murder of the dictator. After staying a short time in Italy, he set out together with Cassius for the East (43). The confederates united forces in Syria, and marched by way of Macedonia into Thessaly, where they were encountered by the forces of the Julian party led by Antonius and Octavius. Two battles were fought at Philippi, after the latter of which Brutus fell on his sword.

C.

Caesar, Caius Julius, was born in B.C. 100. He entered public life in B.C. 78, when he prosecuted Cn. Dolabella for extortion in Macedonia. After a stay in Rhodes, for the purpose of studying oratory, he embraced the views of the popular party, and was accepted as leader of the Marians. His conduct as quaestor (68), aedile (65), and praetor (62), increased his popularity. In 61 he commenced his career as a soldier by defeating the Lusitanians, while propraetor of Hispania Ulterior. On returning to Rome he entered into the compact with Pompeius and Crassus, known as the First Triumvirate. In B.C. 58 he went to Gaul, and in that country a series of eight campaigns resulted in important additions to the Roman dominions, and in building up renown and military support for himself. Meanwhile Crassus had perished in the East, and the only rival now left was Pompeius, who had come to terms with the Senate, and was backed by its whole influence. The demands made by the oligarchy that he should retire into private life, were vetoed by the tribunes, but ineffectually. Caesar then crossed the Rubicon (B.C. 49). In the following year he defeated Pompeius at Pharsalia, and completed the rout of the Senatorians at Thapsus in Africa (B.C. 46), and at Munda in Spain (B.C. 45). His power was now secure; but his unwise attempts to obtain the hateful title and attributes of *rex* led to a conspiracy against his life, and he was murdered in the senate-house on the Ides of March, B.C. 44.

Caesar, Gaius, the son of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus, died in Lycia of a wound which he had received in Armenia A.D. 4 (Ch. 2).

Caesar, Lucius, brother of the foregoing, died at Massilia in A.D. 2, when on his way to the Spanish army (Ch. 2). The deaths of these young princes opened the way for the recall and recognition of Tiberius as successor, and they were accordingly ascribed by groundless rumours of the time to the machinations of Livia.

Caecina, Aulus, won distinction when governor of Moesia in A.D. 6. At the commencement of Tiberius' reign he was in command of the four legions stationed in Germania Inferior. When the mutiny broke out among his troops he showed some lack of nerve, and delivered up to the rebels a centurion, Septimius, who had fled to him for refuge (Ch. 32). He was successful when fighting under

Germanicus against Arminius in A.D. 15, and received in consequence the insignia of a triumph.

Caesia Silva (*Coesfeld?*), probably between the Lippe and the Yssel.

Caetronius, C., the legate of the first legion (Ch. 44).

Caligula, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, was so called from wearing in his boyhood the *caligae* of the soldiers (Ch. 41). His real name was Gaius Caesar. He succeeded to the throne on the death of Tiberius (A.D. 37), and was murdered four years later by Cassius Chaerea and others.

Calpurnius, a standard-bearer mentioned in Ch. 39.

Capito, Ateius, an eminent jurist, was appointed *Curator aquarum publicarum* in A.D. 13, and held this office until his death in A.D. 22. When the Tiber overflowed its banks in A.D. 15 he was appointed, together with L. Arruntius, to devise some remedy (Ch. 76).

Cassius, C., Longinus, rescued the remnant of Crassus' forces and led them back to Syria (B.C. 53). In the civil war he took the part of Pompeius, whose fleet he commanded. In B.C. 48 he surrendered to Caesar, who spared his life, made him praetor, and promised him the province of Syria (B.C. 44). He was foremost in plotting the dictator's death, after which he went to Syria. There he defeated Dolabella. Proceeding through Asia, the cities of which he plundered without mercy, he joined his forces with those of Brutus, and the two generals marched together to Philippi, where two battles were fought. Cassius committed suicide after the first.

Cassius, a mime (Ch. 73).

Catonius, Justus, a centurion of the first rank, selected by the discontented soldiers in Pannonia to share in the embassy to the Emperor (Ch. 29).

Celer, Propertius, a poor senator to whom a grant was made by Tiberius to help him to sustain his rank (Ch. 75).

Cercīna (*Karkenah*), an island in the Lesser Syrtis, connected with a smaller island, Cercinitis, by means of a bridge. It was the place of exile of Sempronius Gracchus (Ch. 53).

Chaerea, Cassius, mentioned as cutting a way through the mutineers with his sword (Ch. 32). He afterwards became tribune of the praetorian cohorts, and took part in the assassination of Caligula (A.D. 41). He was put to death by Claudius.

Chauci, a powerful German tribe, who dwelt along the coast of the German Ocean between the Albis (*Elbe*) and the Amisia (*Ems*), being divided by the Visurgis (*Weser*) into *Majores* and *Minores*. For a time (*circa* A.D. 5) they assisted the Romans against the Cherusci, but the alliance was soon broken.

Chatti, a German tribe, situated between the Visurgis and the Rhine, in the district now known as Hesse and Nassau. Their chief town was Mattium.

Cherusci, the most celebrated of the German tribes, dwelt on both sides of the Visurgis. Under their chieftain Arminius they took the lead in expelling the Romans from Germany, and inflicted on the enemy the crushing defeat of the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, where

Varus was annihilated, A.D. 9. They were attacked by Germanicus in A.D. 15 with some success. They were ultimately overpowered by the Chatti, who then became the leading German tribe.

Cinna, L., led the popular party at Rome from B.C. 87 to B.C. 84. One of his first acts as consul in B.C. 87 was to carry the recall of Marius. Expelled from the city by his colleague Octavius, he was soon joined by Marius, who had returned to Italy, and in conjunction with him captured Rome (B.C. 87). On the death of Marius he succeeded to his position, and was consul for the next three years in succession. In B.C. 84 he was slain by his soldiers as he was crossing to Greece with the intention of encountering Sulla.

Clănis (*Chiana*), a tributary of the Tiber, rises near Arretium, and forms two lakes to the W. of L. Trasimenus. It was proposed to unite it with the Arnus (Ch. 79).

Claudius, emperor from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, was the younger son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. Somewhat weak in mind, he took no active part in public affairs during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. He is mentioned in Ch. 54 as forming one of the *collegium* of the *sodales Augusti.*

Clemens, Iulius, a centurion of the Pannonian legions, who was deputed by the soldiers to lay their grievances before Drusus (Ch. 23, 26). On the night of the eclipse he rendered good service by inducing the men to return to their allegiance, which he was able to do since he was at once popular with them and loyal to the Emperor (Ch. 28).

Crassus, L., the richest of the Romans, was the representative of the moneyed interest in the state. He was consul for the first time in B.C. 70, when he assisted Pompeius in overthrowing the Sullan constitution. In B.C. 60 he joined Pompeius and Caesar in the coalition known as the First Triumvirate. Eager to secure his share of the spoil, he obtained Syria as his province, after being consul for a second time in B.C. 55. He set out for the East in B.C. 54, but attempted no serious operations during that year. But in the spring of B.C. 53 he marched to attack the Parthians by way of Mesopotamia. Not far from Carrhae his troops were defeated, and he was taken prisoner and slain. His head was sent to Orodes, who poured molten gold into the mouth to punish his insatiable covetousness.

D.

Domitius, L., Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero, crossed the Elbe when in command of the Roman army. The long bridges which he had built to the E. of the Rhine were made use of by Germanicus and Caecina (Ch. 63). He died A.D. 25.

Drusus, the Elder (**Nero Claudius Drusus**, later **Germanicus**), was the son of Tib. Claudius Nero and Livia, and consequently brother of Tiberius. He was born in B.C. 38, about three months after Augustus had married his mother. He was liked by the people, while his

aptitude for warfare caused him to be constantly employed by Augustus in the conflicts with the Northern tribes. He fought four brilliant campaigns between B.C. 12 and B.C. 9, and in the last of them carried the Roman arms to the Elbe. He would even have crossed that river had he not—according to the tale—been confronted by the gigantic apparition of a woman who barred his path. While leading back the army to the Rhine he fell from his horse, and died of his injuries shortly afterwards.

Drusus, the Younger, was the son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania. In A.D. 14 he was sent to quell the mutiny of the Pannonian legions (Ch. 24—30), and in the following year he was consul (Ch. 14, 55). He received the *tribunicia potestas* in B.C. 22, and, now that Germanicus was dead, everything pointed to him as the successor of Tiberius. But in the ensuing year he was poisoned by his wife, Livia, at the instigation of Seianus. His temper was reputed to be cruel, and this rendered him less popular than he would otherwise have been. He appears to have had some aptitude for speaking.

E.

Egnatius, aedile in B.C. 20, and praetor in the following year, joined in a plot to assassinate Augustus through disappointment at failing to obtain the consulship. He was put to death in prison, B.C. 18.

Ennius, M'.—v.l. **Mennius**,—a praefect of the camp amongst the Chauci, A.D. 14 (Ch. 38).

F.

Falanius, a Roman knight, accused of admitting a mime, Cassius, to the worship of Augustus, and of selling the Emperor's statue along with his gardens (Ch. 73). Tiberius declined to recognise this as *majestas*, and secured his acquittal (Ch. 73).

Florentia, a flourishing municipium of N. Etruria, situated on the Arnus (Ch. 79).

Frisii, a German tribe which inhabited the flat coast country (modern *Friesland*, *Gröningen*) between the Amisia and the mouths of the Rhine. They were on friendly terms with Rome, until oppression caused them to revolt in A.D. 28. In the fifth century they joined the Saxones and Angli in invading Britain.

G.

Gallia, was divided by Augustus into four provinces—Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Aquitanica, Gallia Lugdunensis, and Gallia Belgica. Soon afterwards the portion of Belgica which adjoined the Rhine was subdivided into two new provinces, called from their German

inhabitants Germania Superior and Inferior. All of these, with the exception of Narbonensis (the old Provincia), were imperial provinces governed by the legati of the Emperor.

Gallus, L. Asinius, the son of Asinius Pollio, won reputation as an orator and writer. He incurred the hatred of Tiberius by marrying his divorced wife, Vipsania. He was consul in B.C. 8, and held a prominent place in the senate (see Ch. 8, 12, 76, 77). He was one of the three men spoken of by Augustus as possible candidates for the office of princeps: the Emperor's opinion was that he was *avidus et minor* (Ch. 13). In A.D. 30 he was sentenced to death by the senate at the instigation of Tiberius, and after three years' imprisonment died of starvation.

Germania, included the country from the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Baltic to the Danube. The more important of the tribes mentioned in Book I. are, in order from north to south, the Chauci, Frisii, Marsi, Bructeri, Usipetes, Cherusci, and Chatti. These all inhabited the district between the Rhine and the Albis. The Cherusci, under the leadership of Arminius, exercised a sort of headship over the others, and took the chief part in overthrowing Varus and in offering resistance to Germanicus. The name Germaniae (Superior and Inferior) was given to two provinces on the west bank of the Rhine, which were detached from Belgica. They were defended by eight legions, under the command of Germanicus. The chief town of the upper province was Mogontiacum (*Maintz*), of the lower Ara Ubiorum, afterwards Colonia Agrippina (*Cologne*).

Germanicus, son of the elder Drusus and Antonia, was born B.C. 15. He was adopted by Tiberius during the life of Augustus, and assisted him in his campaigns against the Pannonians (A.D. 7-10) and the Germans (A.D. 11, 12). He was in command of the Rhine frontier when Augustus died. The mutinous soldiers offered to make him Emperor in place of Tiberius, but he refused; and when the rebellion was quelled, led them against the Marsi (A.D. 14), and in the subsequent year made his way to the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, where he buried the bones of the slaughtered legions. On his way back to the Rhine he was attacked by Arminius and Inguiomerus, and beat off the foe with difficulty. He crossed the Rhine a third time in A.D. 16, and inflicted further defeats on Arminius. He was then recalled to Rome, where he celebrated a triumph. Subsequently he set out for the East to take the supreme command there. He died in A.D. 19, poisoned, as the people believed, by his enemy Piso, and not without the knowledge of Tiberius, jealous of his popularity with the legionaries and people alike.

Gracchus, Sempronius, banished to Cercina for an intrigue with Julia, whom he incited to write letters of complaint to Augustus about her husband Tiberius. He was put to death in A.D. 14 (Ch. 53). He was a man of some literary ability (*sollers ingenio et prave facundus*), and is perhaps the tragic writer of that name mentioned by Ovid.

H.

Haterius, Q., a senator and rhetorician of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. On one occasion he offended Tiberius, but escaped by invoking the assistance of Livia (Ch. 13).

Hirtius, A., a warm personal friend of Julius Caesar, whose legate he was in Gaul, and who nominated him as one of the consuls for B.C. 43. He entered on office in that year, but threw in his lot with the Senate, and with his colleague Pansa marched against Antonius, who was blockading Dec. Brutus in Mutina. After the death of his colleague he gained a victory, but fell mortally wounded, as rumour asserted, at the hands of his own soldiers and by the treachery of Octavius (Ch. 10).

Hispo, is mentioned in Ch. 74 as the prototype of the class of *delatores*.

I.

Illyricum, in its narrowest sense, the coastline of the Hadriatic between Istria and Macedonia, but it is used to include Noricum and Pannonia in addition.

Inguiomerus, uncle of Arminius, whose advice to attack the camp of Germanicus led to the defeat of the Cheruscans. He left the field badly wounded (Ch. 68).

Interamnates, the people of Interamna, a town situated on the Nar, and, according to tradition, the birthplace of Tacitus (Ch. 79).

Iulia, the profligate daughter of Augustus, married thrice—(1) her cousin Marcellus; (2) M. Agrippa, by whom she had a considerable family; (3) Tiberius, whom her contemptuous treatment and unregulated life sent into retirement at Rhodes B.C. 6. In B.C. 2 the knowledge of her conduct came to the ears of the Emperor, who banished her to Pandateria. Thence she was removed to Rhegium. Tiberius, on ascending the throne, allowed her scarcely the necessaries of life, and she died soon after. See Genealogical Table, Introd. § 6.

Iulus, Antonius, son of the triumvir by Fulvia, was honoured by Augustus with office and alliance with the imperial family. An intrigue with Julia brought about his ruin, and he committed suicide (Ch. 10).

L.

Lentulus, Cnaeus, surnamed Gaetulicus from his victories over the Gaetuli, an African tribe. He was sent to assist Drusus in quelling the insurrection in Pannonia, but was attacked by the soldiers, and narrowly escaped death (Ch. 27).

Lepidus, M. Aemilius, joined Caesar in the civil war (B.C. 49), and was entrusted with the government of Italy when his leader was absent in Spain. In B.C. 44 he was elected pontifex maximus, and

in the same year entered upon the government of Gallia Narbonensis. At first neutral, he joined Antonius after the defeat of Mutina. Then proclaimed a public enemy by the senate, he crossed the Alps and assisted in forming the Second Triumvirate (B.C. 43). He remained to take charge of Italy in B.C. 42, and after the battle of Philippi received Africa as his share of the Roman world. He failed in an attempt to gain Sicily (B.C. 36), and thenceforth lived at Circeii under surveillance. He died B.C. 12.

Lepidus, M'. Aemilius, consul in A.D. 11, said by Augustus to be capable of empire, but not desiring it (Ch. 13). He obtained the government of Asia in A.D. 21. He is to be distinguished from **Lepidus, M. Aemilius**, who was consul in A.D. 6, and a favourite servant of both Augustus and Tiberius.

Livia Drusilla, was the wife of Tib. Claudius Nero, when Augustus procured her divorce and married her, B.C. 38. She had borne one son, the future Emperor Tiberius, to her first husband, and three months after her second marriage became mother of the elder Drusus. Notwithstanding the rumours which were directed against her, accusing her of hastening the death of the young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and even of poisoning Augustus, she appears to have filled a difficult position with tact and ability. On the accession of Tiberius, for whose interests she had shown incessant care, she attempted to interfere in the government, but was speedily checked by the Emperor, who even vetoed the honours decreed by an obsequious senate (Ch. 4). When she died in A.D. 29, Tiberius neglected to be present at the funeral rites, and forbade her consecration.

Lollius, when governor of Gaul in B.C. 16, was defeated by some Usipetes and Tencteri, who crossed the Rhine and captured the eagle of a legion. He accompanied L. Caesar to the East in B.C. 2, but feeling himself disliked by the prince, poisoned himself.

Lucilius, a centurion, better known as *Cedo Alteram*, Ch. 23.

Lupia (*Lippe*), a small German stream, which rises in the Saltus Teutoburgiensis, and after a course due west falls into the Rhine.

M.

Macedonia, was reduced to a Roman province in B.C. 146. It extended from the Aegean to the Hadriatic, and was bounded to the N. by Illyricum and Moesia, to the S. by Achaia. Its chief cities were Thessalonica, Dyrrhacium, and Philippi. Under the Augustan *régime* it was assigned to the senate, but early in Tiberius' reign transferred at the request of the provincials to the Emperor (Ch. 76).

Macer, Pompeius, Ch. 72.

Maecenas, C. Cilnius, the great minister of Augustus, was descended from a noble Etruscan family, though holding only the equestrian rank in the Roman state. After B.C. 40 he was busily engaged in public affairs; he conducted numerous negotiations with Antonius,

and directed the government of Italy when Augustus was absent at Actium. About B.C. 20 differences arose between him and the Emperor, and he retired into private life, dying in B.C. 8. He was famous for his patronage of literary men, and wrote a little himself.

Marcellus, M., nephew and (after B.C. 25) adopted son of Augustus, who gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, and destined him to be his successor. He died in B.C. 23, when only twenty years of age, to the great sorrow of the people. This Vergil has commemorated in a well-known passage (*Aen.*, VI., 861—886).

Marcellus, Granius, Ch. 74.

Marcia, Ch. 5.

Marius, a native of Arpinum, of obscure family, first distinguished himself by his valour at the siege of Numantia (B.C. 134). He gained his first office—that of tribune—in B.C. 119. Others followed, though slowly, and in B.C. 109 he went to Africa as legate of Metellus in the Jugurthine War. Consul two years later, he was elevated to the supreme command, and brought the conflict to a close in B.C. 106 by the capture of the Numidian monarch. The formidable attack of the northern tribes caused Marius to be recognized as the one man capable of saving Rome, and he was elected to five successive consulships between B.C. 104 and B.C. 100. He justified the confidence placed in him by the victories of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae. In his sixth consulship (B.C. 100) he sided with Saturninus and the extreme party. As a consequence he lost most of his influence. He did little until B.C. 88, when his desire to command in the first Mithridatic war brought him into collision with Sulla. He was compelled to flee from Italy, but returned in B.C. 87, and was made consul for the seventh time. He had only just entered on office when he died, B.C. 86.

Marsi, a German tribe, who from Ch. 51 appear to have occupied the country between the Lupia and the Rura in A.D. 15. Afterwards they were driven further into the interior.

Mattium (perhaps *Maden*), the chief town of the Chatti (Ch. 56), situated on or near the Adrana.

Maximus, Fabius, is said to have attended Augustus on his secret visit to Agrippa Postumus. He related the occurrence to his wife Marcia, whence the thing became known, and he died shortly afterwards (Ch. 5).

Messala, Valerius, son of the celebrated Messala Corvinus, was consul in B.C. 3. Like his father he patronised literature, and among his friends were Ovid and Tibullus. His name occurs in Ch. 8.

Moesia, bounded on the N. by the Danube, on the E. by the Euxine, and on the S. and W. by the provinces of Thracia, Macedonia, and Illyricum, coincided in extent with the modern Servia and Bulgaria. It was subdued during the reign of Augustus, and constituted an imperial province by Tiberius, who appointed Poppaeus Sabinus its governor (Ch. 80). It was garrisoned by two legions,

N.

Nar (*Nera*), a river of central Italy, rises in the Apennines, and, flowing S.W. as the boundary between the Sabini and Umbria, falls into the Tiber.

Nauportus (*Ober-Laybach* in Carniola), an important commercial town situated on a tributary of the Savus in S. Pannonia.

Nola (*Nola*), an ancient Campanian city, twenty miles S.E. of Capua. In the second Punic war it showed conspicuous fidelity to Rome. Augustus died there, in the same house and room in which his father Octavius expired (Ch. 9).

Norbanus, C. Flaccus, consul in A.D. 15 (Ch. 55).

O.

Octavius, C., the father of Augustus, administered Macedonia with integrity in B.C. 60, and died at Nola soon after his return to Italy.

P.

Palatium, the residence of Tiberius, so called from its position on the Mons Palatinus (Ch. 13).

Pandateria (*Vendutene*), an islet off the Campanian coast, and for five years the scene of the banishment of Julia, Augustus' daughter (Ch. 53).

Pannonia, an important frontier province, was bounded on the N. and E. by the Danube, on the S. and W. by Noricum and Illyricum. It thus included the western provinces of the Austrian empire. The Pannonians were subdued in B.C. 35, but in A.D. 7 broke out into a determined revolt, which was only repressed by Tiberius after three arduous campaigns (A.D. 7—10). On account of its important strategic position Pannonia was placed among the imperial provinces of the first class, and occupied by a large number of troops. Of these there were in A.D. 14 three legions, whose mutiny is described in Ch. 16—30 ; they were afterwards increased to seven.

Pansa, C. Vibius, tribune in B.C. 51, supported Julius Caesar in the Civil War, and was made by him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in B.C. 46. Like his friend Hirtius, with whom he was created consul, he sided with the senate against Antonius in B.C. 43. He fell in the first battle before Mutina. Idle talk attributed his death to poison poured into his wounds at the command of Octavius (Ch. 10).

Pedius, Q., Ch. 10.

Percennius, first the leader of a gang of theatrical *claqueurs*, afterwards a common soldier in Pannonia, and foremost in causing the mutiny. He was put to death when the tumult was over (Ch. 16, 29).

Piso, Cn., consul in A.D. 7, is mentioned as taking part in the debates of the senate (Ch. 74). For the opinion which, according

to one story, Augustus had of him, see Ch. 13. In A.D. 18, when Germanicus was despatched to the East with the *maius imperium*, Piso was made governor of Syria, and, in conjunction with his wife Plancina, did his utmost to thwart his plans. The death of Germanicus in A.D. 19 was consequently laid at their door—probably unjustly—and the matter was brought before the senate. But before the inquiry could be completed, Piso was found dead by his own hand. Plancina escaped through the influence of Livia. It is noteworthy that in his case Tacitus mentions all three methods of criminal jurisdiction. He was threatened with trial before the praetor (*de veneficiis*, II., 79). He was brought before the consuls, petitioned *ut cognitionem apud principem exciperet*, who, however, *integram causam ad senatum remittit* (III., 10).

Planasia (*Pianosa*), an island in the Tyrrhenian Sea between Corsica and Etruria, whither Agrippa Postumus was banished (Ch. 3).

Plancus, Munatius, head of the mission to the German armies, A.D. 14 (Ch. 39).

Plinius, C., the Elder, was a voluminous writer, the greatest of whose works was the *Historia Naturalis.* He also wrote a history of the Germanic wars in twenty books (Ch. 69), which he was the more competent to describe owing to military service and travels in that country. He perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79.

Pollio, C. Asinius, father of Gallus Pollio (*q.v.*), was born B.C. 76. He soon gained reputation as a lawyer. In the civil wars he was a consistent supporter of Julius Caesar, and served in the campaigns of Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda. He pursued the same policy on the second triumvirate being formed in B.C. 43, and joined the army chiefs against the senate. He helped to reconcile Octavius and Antonius at Brundisium, B.C. 40, and was employed in various wars until B.C. 39, when he withdrew from public life. He won reputation as a historian and poet, and vied with Maecenas in his generous treatment of literature.

Pompeius, Cn., Magnus, born in B.C. 106, served when a mere youth in the Social war, and in B.C. 83 was hailed by Sulla as imperator. In the next few years he was engaged in hostilities with the Marians, succeeding in crushing the most formidable, Sertorius, in Spain, B.C. 71. On his return to Rome he quarrelled with the senate, and mutilated the Sullan constitution. By this time a great favourite with the people, the Gabiniav law of B.C. 67 gave him enormous powers against the pirates, while the Manilian law of the ensuing year invested him with the supreme command against Mithridates. His Asiatic campaigns were a series of triumphs, but after his re-entry in home politics (B.C. 61) a number of mistakes rendered him equally unpopular with senate and people. At first a partner of Caesar in the First Triumvirate (B.C. 60), he broke with his ally about B.C. 51, and was accepted by the senate as their champion. In the civil war he showed strange irresolution in quitting Italy. In B.C. 48 he was defeated at Pharsalia, and fled to Egypt, where he was murdered.

Pompeius, Sextus, younger son of the triumvir, escaped almost alone from the field of Munda (B.C. 45). The general confusion which followed the death of Caesar enabled him to collect a fleet, with which he established himself in Sicily. His naval forces allowed him to cut off the corn supplies from Rome, and the scarcity caused such disturbance in the capital that the triumvirs were compelled to admit Sextus into partnership at the treaty of Misenum (B.C. 39). War, however, broke out in the following year. It terminated in the annihilation of Sextus' power by Agrippa at Naulochus, off the northern coast of Sicily, near Mylae, B.C. 36. Sextus fled to Lesbos, and was put to death by some of Antonius' officers in Asia, B.C. 35.

Pompeius, Sextus, Ch. 7.

R.

Raetia, in its most limited sense, corresponded to the Grisons of Switzerland and the Tyrol, but it often included in addition the more northernly province of Vindelicia (cf. Illyricum for a similar extension of meaning). The Raeti were subdued in B.C. 15 by Drusus and Tiberius. The province was of course imperial. It was of the third class, governed by a *procurator imperatoris.*

Ravenna, in Gallia Cisalpina, situated amid marshes one mile from the Hadriatic. Augustus made it one of the great naval stations. Here the captive son of Arminius was brought up (Ch. 58).

Reatini, the people of Reate (*Rieti*), a town of the Sabines on the river Nar, just above the Lacus Velinus.

Reginorum, the people of Rhegium (*Reggio*), a town on the Siculum Fretum, opposite to Messana. Here Julia lived in exile from A.D. 7 until her death (Ch. 53).

Rhenus (*Rhine*), the frontier river between Gallia and non-Roman Germania. In the time of Tiberius it was defended by eight legions.

Rhodes, the easternmost island of the Aegean, off the coast of Caria. Thither Tiberius retired in B.C. 6. He did not return to Rome until A.D. 2. The city, also named Rhodes, was at the commencement of the Christian era one of the chief seats of learning in the East, besides being a great commercial centre.

Rubrius, C., accused of swearing falsely by the name of the deified Augustus, Ch. 73.

Rufus, Aufidienus, praefect of the camp at Nauportus, Ch. 20.

S.

Sabinus, Poppaeus, appointed governor of Moesia in A.D. 9, continued to hold that province, with the addition of Achaia and Macedonia (Ch. 80), until his death in A.D. 35. He was grandfather of Poppaea, the wife of Nero.

Sallustius, C., Crispus, grandson of the sister of the historian, and adopted by the latter, became the principal adviser of Augustus after

the retirement of Maecenas. He continued in favour under Tiberius (he is called *particeps secretorum*, Ch. 6) until his death in A.D. 20.

Scaurus, Mamercus, an orator and poet, offended Tiberius by a speech in the senate (Ch. 13). The Emperor concealed his resentment at the time. In A.D. 34 Scaurus was accused of *majestas*, and killed himself.

Segestes, a Cheruscan chieftain, who favoured the Romans in opposition to Arminius. He warned Varus of his danger (Ch. 55). In A.D. 14 he went over to Germanicus, who received him graciously, and assigned him a settlement in the Roman province (Ch. 58).

Segimerus, brother of the above (Ch. 71).

Segimundus, son of Segestes (Ch. 57).

Severus, Cassius, Ch. 72.

Seianus, Aelius, son of Seius Strabo, commander of the praetorian cohorts, was appointed his father's colleague in A.D. 14 (Ch. 24). He accompanied Drusus to Pannonia in the same year. His influence over Tiberius was very great as early as A.D. 15 (Ch. 69), and constantly increased. He brought about the murder of Drusus, the heir to the throne, in A.D. 23. The death of Livia (A.D. 29) rendered Tiberius still more pliant in his minister's hands. Recognizing at last that his throne was in danger, he sent Macro to secure the allegiance of the praetorians. When this was done the *verbosa et grandis epistula* reached the senate from Capreae, and Seianus was put to death, A.D. 31.

Silius, C., legate of the legions in Upper Germany, was decreed triumphal honours in A.D. 15 (Ch. 72). He was put to death in A.D. 24. His son of the same name was the lover of Messalina.

Sirpicus, a centurion threatened in the Pannonian mutiny (note, Ch. 24).

Stertinius, Ch. 71.

Strabo, Seius, father of Seianus, was prefect of the praetorians, and later governor of Egypt (Ch. 7).

Suebi, a generic name for the German tribes dwelling between the Baltic and the Danube, who had entered into a loose confederation. The name survives in *Swabia* (the modern Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden).

Sulla, L. Cornelius, served under Marius in the Jugurthine War, and effected the surrender of Jugurtha B.C. 106. Elected consul in B.C. 88, he received, in spite of the opposition of Marius, the command in the first Mithridatic war. After driving his rival from Italy, he set out for the East (B.C. 87), and expelled the forces of Mithridates from Greece by the victories of Orchomenus and Chaeronea. He was equally successful in Asia, and imposed his own conditions of peace on the Pontic king in B.C. 84. He then returned to Italy, now in the hands of the Marians, and step by step fought his way to the capital. He gained possession of Rome in B.C. 82, secured the city by the battle at the Colline Gate, and inaugurated his rule by a wholesale proscription of the opposite party. He then passed the *Leges*

Corneliae, which aimed at placing the supreme power with the senate. He died B.C. 78.

T.

Tamfana, a German deity (Ch. 51).

Tarraconensis Colonia (*Tarragona*), founded by Julius Caesar, the capital of Hispania Tarraconensis. A temple was erected by the inhabitants to Augustus in A.D. 15 (Ch. 78).

Taunus Mons, a ridge of mountains running in a northerly direction through the country of the Chatti, and not far from the Rhine.

Teutoburgiensis Saltus (*Teutoburger Wald*), a forest-clad range of hills, lying between the Amisia and the Visurgis, and the scene of the Varian disaster, A.D. 9.

Tiberis (*Tevere*), rises in the Apennines near Tifernum, then flows south, forming the boundary between Etruria and Umbria, and falls into the sea at Ostia. It receives on the right bank the Clanis, on the left the Nar and Anio and Allia. Its overflowings frequently did great damage to Rome (Ch. 79).

Tiberius Claudius Nero (*Ti. Caesar Augustus*), born B.C. 42, was the son of Tib. Claudius Nero and Livia. He was early employed in important negotiations and wars. At the age of twenty-two he was sent to make Tigranes king of Armenia, and to settle the affairs of that distracted country. In B.C. 15 he, together with his younger brother Drusus, was engaged in subduing Rhaetia. Two years later he obtained the highest office in the state—the consulship. But his honours were dearly bought by the forced abandonment of his wife Vipsania (*q.v.*) in B.C. 11. The new wife whom he took in her place —the Emperor's daughter Julia—treated him with unconcealed contempt, and committed acts of shameless excess. Another misfortune which befel him about this time was the death of his brother Drusus while campaigning on the Rhine frontier. Tiberius, who was then engaged in the subjection of the Delmatians and Pannonians, hurried to Germany, but arrived only in time to close his brother's eyes (B.C. 9). He then took the place of Drusus in the North, and campaigned against the German tribes in B.C. 8 and the following year. Meanwhile the profligacy of Julia was becoming more notorious every day; the youthful princes, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, seemed destined to succeed to the throne; and so Tiberius, feeling his present mode of life unendurable, took the resolution of retiring to Rhodes, and leaving the turmoil of public life to others. He lived there quietly until A.D. 2, when the death of Lucius Caesar enabled him to return to Rome. His wife had been banished by Augustus in B.C. 2, and in A.D. 4 the death of Gaius Caesar left a gap in the imperial family which could only be filled by his adoption. In the same year he was recognized as the Emperor's heir by being invested with the *tribunicia potestas*. In A.D. 13 he became the colleague of Augustus in the *imperium* (*i.e.* the *proconsulare imperium*),

and his virtual partner in the government. Immediately after his adoption by the Emperor, he was sent to take the command of the legions on the German frontier. After gaining some successes beyond the Rhine he was transferred to Illyricum (A.D. 6), where he remained until the Varian disaster (A.D. 9) recalled him for operations against the German tribes. He celebrated a triumph at Rome (A.D. 12), and was preparing to resume command of the army in Illyricum when the death of Augustus occurred. He peacefully succeeded to the principate, though mutinies broke out in Pannonia and Germania, which were with difficulty suppressed by Drusus and Germanicus. About A.D. 21 he fell under the influence of Seianus, the prefect of the praetorian guards, who induced him to take up his residence at Capreae in A.D. 27. He was never seen again in Rome. The death of his mother, Livia, which occurred in A.D. 29, seems to have removed a wholesome restraint, and the last years of his reign are marked by confiscation and bloodshed. He freed himself from the influence of Seianus in A.D. 31. He died A.D. 37 at Misenum, and was succeeded by Caligula, the son of Germanicus. For some account of his character, which has been very variously estimated, see *Hist. Aug. and Tib.*, Ch. X.

Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, and joint ruler with Romulus of the amalgamated Sabines and Romans (Ch. 54).

Treveri, a tribe of Gallia Belgica, on the left of the lower Rhine, noted for their loyalty to the Romans. The chief town in their country was Augusta Treverorum (*Trèves*).

Tubantes, a German tribe, who varied their position considerably from time to time. Germanicus found them inhabiting the country to the immediate south of the Lupia (*R. Lippe*).

Turranius, C., chief corn commissioner (Ch. 7).

U.

Ubii, a German tribe originally dwelling east of the Rhine, were transported to the left bank of the river by Agrippa, in order to escape the hostilities of the Suebi. Their chief town was round the Ara Ubiorum, and was afterwards named Colonia Agrippinensis (*Cologne*).

Usipetes, a German tribe, who crossed the Rhine under the pressure of the Suebi, but were driven back by Caesar, and in the time of Tiberius were settled in the neighbourhood of the Lupia (*Westphalia*).

V.

Valerius Corvus, one of the most famous heroes of the old republic, is said to have gained his surname through a raven assisting him in a combat with a gigantic Gaul, B.C. 349. He was six times consul between B.C. 348 and B.C. 299, and twice dictator. His most famous exploits were in the first Samnite war.

Varro, the name by adoption of **L. Licinius Muraena,** who plotted the murder of Augustus in conjunction with Fannius Caepio, B.C. 23.

Varus, Q., see on Ch. 3.

Vedius Pollio, a man of equestrian rank and enormous wealth, who is said to have amused himself by throwing his slaves when alive to feed his fish ; this, too, when Augustus was present.

Velinus Lacus, near Reate, formed by the overflow of the river Velinus.

Vetera, otherwise Castra Vetera (*Xanten*), on the Gallic bank of the Rhine, sixty Roman miles from the *oppidum Ubiorum* (Ch. 45).

Vibulenus, a leader in the Pannonian mutiny, who raised a tumult against Blaesus by accusing him of putting his brother to death (Ch. 22). He was put to death when the revolt was quelled (Ch. 29).

Vipsania, daughter of the great Agrippa and wife of Tiberius, who was compelled by Augustus, for reasons of succession, to divorce her and marry Julia (B.C. 11). She had already borne a son—the younger Drusus. She afterwards married Asinius Gallio (*q.v.*), and died in A.D. 20.

Vitellius, P., uncle of the future Emperor of that name, served under Germanicus (Ch. 70). He afterwards impeached Cn. Piso.

APPENDIX.

TYPICAL PECULIARITIES IN THE GRAMMAR OF TACITUS, ANNALS I.

A. Case Usage.

1. ACCUSATIVE: (*a*) Object accusative after a passive verb used in a middle sense: *frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus*, **50**, 4 (this may also be regarded as accusative of respect).

(*b*) Object of intransitive verb, which by a stretch of meaning becomes transitive: *ne imperitum adulescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent* (= *timerent*), **59**, 19.

(*c*) After compound verbs where in Augustan writers the dative or a preposition would have been used: *cum Tiberii genua advolveretur* (= *ad genua*), **13**, 22; *pugnam aut vincula elapsi* (= *e pugna*), **61**, 15.

(*d*) In apposition to a sentence of which it expresses the purpose or result: *manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum*, **27**, 2.

2. DATIVE: (*a*) Of disadvantage (with verbs compounded of *ab, de, ex*), where the ablative with preposition would be more usual: *aliquid ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet* (= *a quo*), **12**, 8; *se ipsos morti eximant hortatur* (= *e morte*), **48**, 7.

(*b*) Attracted, by Greek idiom: *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat* (= *bellum erat invisum aut gratum*, see note on passage), **59**, 2.

(*c*) Of the agent, with all tenses of the passive: *sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici* (= *a se*), **17**, 24.

(*d*) In a possessive sense: *rector iuveni* (= *iuvenis*), **24**, 9.

(*e*) Of purpose or work contemplated: *qui perferendis militis mandatis habebatur idoneus* (= *ad mandata perferenda*), **23**, 15; *Caecinam distrahendo hosti per Bructeros mittit* (= *ad distrahendum hostem*), **60**, 4; *illa morti deposcit*, **23**, 18; *incessit itineri et proelio*, **51**, 9.

3. ABLATIVE: (*a*) Without preposition with names of countries: *Gaium remeantem Armenia* (= *ex Armenia*), **3**, 12.

(*b*) Of road by which: *ut porta triumphali duceretur funus*, **8**, 12; *equitem finibus Frisiorum ducit*, **60**, 6.

(*c*) Of time throughout which: *quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit* (= *annos*), **53**, 17.

(*d*) Of manner without epithet: *spe vel dolore accipitur*, **59**, 2.

(*e*) Of quality, depending directly on a proper name: *Blaesus multa dicendi arte* (= *Blaesus vir multa*, etc.), **19**, 3.

(*f*) Of cause: *ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum* (= *ob caritatem* or *caritatis causa*), **10**, 26.

The ablative absolute

(*a*) Has sentence for subject: *addito acutiorem esse* (= *cum addidisset*), **35**, 23; *intellecto in quos saeviretur* (= *cum intellexissent*), **49**, 6; *iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret* (= *cum iuxta periculosum esset*), **6**, 18.

(*b*) Consists of predicate only: *orantibus Blaesus et L. Apronius mittuntur* (= *militibus orantibus*), **29**, 5.

4. GENITIVE: (*a*) Partitive with neuter adjective and pronoun, both singular and plural being very freely used: *inculta montium*, **17**, 11; *obstantia silvarum*, **50**. 11; *in prominenti litoris*, **53**, 18; *occulta saltuum*, **61**, 5; *aggeres umido paludum imponeret*, **61**, 5.

(*b*) Of definition: *ubi uligines paludum accipiunt* (= *uliginosas paludes*), **17**, 11.

(*c*) Of respect: *tamquam ambiguus imperandi* (= *de imperando*), **7**, 9; *exitii certus*, **27**, 11; *vetus operis ac laboris*, **20**, 11.

(*d*) Of the object with certain verbs: *temporis ac necessitatis monet* (by analogy with *admonet*, see note), **67**, 2; *Marcellum Crispinus maiestatis postulavit* (by analogy with *accuso*), **74**, 1.

(*e*) With the gerundive: *bellum abolendae infamiae*, **3**, 25.

5. LOCATIVE: *animi ferox*, **32**, 11; *femina ingens animi*, **69**, 4.

B. Pronouns

(*a*) Are omitted, especially in the third person: *si vellet imperium promptos ostentavere* (= *se ostentavere*), **35**, 14; *tradit C. Plinius stetisse* (= *eam stetisse*), **69**, 6.

(*b*) *Quis* = *quisque*, and sometimes = *uter*: *quos igitur anteferret*, **47**, 5; *militibus, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est*, **69**, 5.

C. **Verbs.**

1. MOODS AND TENSES: (*a*) The historic infinitive takes secondary sequence: *nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam permoverent*, **21**, 10.

(*b*) In oratio obliqua a parenthetical or explanatory relative clause often retains the indicative: *sive hostis illos abstulerat*, **10**, 7; *divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas*, **10**, 11; *legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique*, **36**, 14.

(*c*) The indicative is often used vividly in conditional sentences instead of the subjunctive: *ferrum parabant, ni miles nonanus preces et minas interiecisset*, 23, 17: *ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri . . . pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant*, **23**, 6; *ferrum elatum deferebat in pectus, ni proximi dextram attinuissent*, **35**, 18; *nos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat*, **42**, 15: *trudebantur in paludem, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset*, **63**, 8.

(*d*) The subjunctive is used to denote indefinite frequency; *ut quis praetorianorum militum occurreret*, **27**, 1; *ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia*, **44**, 22.

(*e*) The subjunctive is used with *donec* to denote an act which really occurred: *donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur*, **1**, **11**; *neque mitigatus est donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur*, **13**, 25; *Septimius eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur*, **32**, 7 [here, however, there is some notion of purpose, see note].

(*f*) The subjunctive is used with *quamvis* to denote a fact: *quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret*, **68**, 18.

2. PARTICIPLES.

(*a*) The future participle is often used to express purpose: *daret se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis*, **31**, 4; *augebat metum invasurus hostis*, **36**, 5; *classem demittere Rheno parat, bello certaturus*, **45**, 7.

(*b*) The participle with substantive is used as equivalent to two substantives: *occisus Caesar*, **8**, 28; *mutatus princeps* (= *mutatio principis*), **16**, 2; *fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata*, **59**, 1; *rapta uxor*, **59**, 3.

D. Prepositions.

Ab = "at the end of": *a sedecim annis*, **26**, 2.

Ad = "with reference to": *degenerem ad pericula*, **40**, 8.

Apud = locative, or ablative with *in*: *apud urbem Nolam*, **5**, 13; *arae apud quas*, **61**, 14; *sueta apud paludes proelia*, **64**, 6.

De = "with," "under": *qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur*, **15**, 9.

Ex = "in accordance with": *ex re*, "according to circumstances," **24**, 4; = "arising from," "by": *adiciendos ex duce metus*, **29**, 12.

In with accusative denotes the actual or intended result: *in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur*, **11**, 11; *neque evicta in lacrimas*, **57**, 16.

Iuxta is used adverbially = *pariter*: *iuxta periculoso*, **6**, 18.

Per is equivalent to simple ablative or adverb: *per nomen*, **17**, 11; *per superbiam* (= *superbe*), **61**, 20.

Post = "after," "in consequence of": *post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere*, **68**, 16.

E. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

(*a*) Comparative sentences are often abbreviated: *pacem quam bellum probabam* (= *magis quam*), **58**, 6; *quanto quis audacia*

promptus, tanto magis fidus (= *promptior*), **57**, 4, *quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur* (= *magis inopina*), **68**, 13; *quanto incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens* (= *tanto patientior*), **74**, **22**.

(*b*) Asyndeton or omission of conjunctions is frequent: *inserunt . . . offerunt . . . intendunt*, **28**, 15.

(*c*) *Tanquam* and *quasi* often give to the action expressed by the verb the character of an alleged cause: *tanquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania, plus quam civilia agitaret*, **12**, 16 (see note); *tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit*, **35**, 15; cp. *ut* in *ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites*, **47**, **11**.

F. Miscellaneous.

An, in a single indirect question: *dubium an quaesita morte*, **5**, 9 (see note).

Ceterum = "in reality": *ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos*, **10**, **2**.

Inpune = predicate: *dicta inpune erant*, **72**, 11.

Perinde quam si = *aeque ac si*: *ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset*, **73**, 16.

Quo minus = *quin*: *nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam permoverent*, **21**, 10.

Si = *ne*: *at patres, quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus effundi*, **11**, 13.

Seu (first *sive* or *seu* omitted): *iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret*, **6**, **18**.

Select List of Books

IN THE

University Tutorial Series

PUBLISHED AT

THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL PRESS

(*University Correspondence College Press*).

W. B. CLIVE, 13 BOOKSELLERS ROW, LONDON, W.C.

CONTENTS.

A List of Books for London University Students, classified for the various Examinations, List of Books for the Cambridge and Oxford Locals and the College of Preceptors Examinations, and also the Complete Catalogue of the University Tutorial Series, may be had post free on application to W. B. CLIVE, The University Tutorial Press Warehouse, 13 *Booksellers Row, Strand, W.C.*

MARCH 1900.

The University Tutorial Series.

General Editor: WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S., F.R.A.S.
Classical Editor: B. J. HAYES, M.A.

The object of the UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL SERIES is to provide candidates for examinations and learners generally with text-books which shall convey in the simplest form sound instruction in accordance with the latest results of scholarship and scientific research. Important points are fully and clearly treated, and care has been taken not to introduce details which are likely to perplex the beginner.

The Publisher will be happy to entertain applications from Schoolmasters for specimen copies of any of the books mentioned in this List.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

"This series is successful in hitting its mark and supplying much help to students in places where a guiding hand is sorely needed."—*Journal of Education.*

"The volumes in this series are strictly practical."—*Guardian.*

"The series is eminently successful."—*Spectator.*

"The classical texts in this series are edited by men who are thoroughly masters of their craft."—*Saturday Review.*

"This series of educational works has been brought to a high level of efficiency."—*Educational Times.*

"This series has proved serviceable to many, and is now well-known for its accuracy in teaching elementary principles, and the thoroughness of the aid which it supplies."—*Educational Review.*

"The more we see of these excellent manuals the more highly do we think of them."—*Schoolmaster.*

"The evident care, the clearly conceived plan, the genuine scholarship, and the general excellence of the productions in the series give them high claims to commendation."—*Educational News.*

"This useful series of text-books."—*Nature.*

"It may justly be said that any books published in this series are admirably adapted for the needs of the large class of students for whom they are intended."—*Cambridge Review.*

Latin and Greek Classics.

(*See also page* 4.)

The editions of LATIN and GREEK CLASSICS contained in the UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL SERIES are on the following plan:—

A short INTRODUCTION gives an account of the Author and his chief works, the circumstances under which he wrote, and his style, dialect, and metre, where these call for notice.

The TEXT is based on the latest and best editions, and is clearly printed in large type.

The distinctive feature of the NOTES is the omission of parallel passages and controversial discussions of difficulties, and stress is laid on all the important points of grammar and subject-matter. Information as to persons and places mentioned is grouped together in a HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX; by this means the expense of procuring a Classical Dictionary is rendered unnecessary.

The standard of proficiency which the learner is assumed to possess varies in this series according as the classic dealt with is usually read by beginners or by those who have already made considerable progress. A complete list is given overleaf.

VOCABULARIES, arranged in order of the text and interleaved with writing paper, are issued, together with Test Papers, in the case of the classics more commonly read by beginners; the price is 1s. or (in some instances) 1s. 6d. A detailed list can be had on application.

Caesar.—Gallic War, Book I. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and F. G. PLAISTOWE, M.A. Camb. 1s. 6d.

"A clearly printed text, a good introduction, an excellent set of notes, and a historical and geographical index, make up a very good edition at a very small price."—*Schoolmaster*.

Cicero.—De Amicitia and **De Senectute.** By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. 1s. 6d. each.

"The notes, although full, are simple."—*Educational Times*.

Horace.—Odes, Books I.—III. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and B. J. HAYES, M.A. Lond. and Camb. 1s. 6d. each.

"Notes which leave no difficulty unexplained."—*Schoolmaster*.

"The Notes (on Book III.) are full and good, and nothing more can well be demanded of them."—*Journal of Education*.

Livy.—Book I. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. *Third Edition*. 2s. 6d.

"The notes are concise, dwelling much on grammatical points and dealing with questions of history and archæology in a simple but interesting fashion."—*Education*.

Vergil.—Aeneid, Books I.—XII. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., assisted by W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond., and others. 1s. 6d. each.

Xenophon.—Anabasis, Book I. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and F. L. D. RICHARDSON, B.A. Lond. 1s. 6d.

"The notes are all that could be desired."—*Schoolmaster*.

Editions of Latin and Greek Classics.

(INTRODUCTION, TEXT, AND NOTES.)

Books marked (*) are in the press, and those marked (†) are in preparation.

AESCHYLUS—Persae, 3/6; Prometheus, 2/6; Septem contra Thebas, 3/6.

ARISTOPHANES—Ranae, 3/6.

CAESAR—Gallic War, Bks. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (each) 1/6; Gallic War, Bk. 1, Ch. 1-29, 1/6; Gallic War, Bk. 7, 2/6; Gallic War, Bk. 7, Ch. 1-68, 1/6; Invasion of Britain (IV. 20-V. 23), 2/6.

CICERO—Ad Atticum, Bk. 4, 3/6; De Amicitia, 1/6; De Finibus, Bk. 1, 2/6; De Finibus, Bk. 2, 3/6; De Officiis, Bk. 3, 3/6; Pro Cluentio, 3/6; Pro Milone, 3/6; Pro Plancio, 2/6; De Senectute, In Catilinam I., Pro Archia, Pro Balbo, Pro Marcello, (each Book) 1/6.

DEMOSTHENES—Androtion, 4/6; Meidias, 5/0.

EURIPIDES—Alcestis, 3/6; Andromache, 3/6; Bacchae, 3/6; Hecuba, 3/6; Hippolytus, 3/6.

HERODOTUS—Bk. 3, 4/6; Bk. 6, 2/6; Bk. 8, 3/6.

HOMER—Iliad, Bk. 6, 1/6; Iliad, Bk. 24, 3/6; Odyssey, Bks. 9, 10, 2/6; Odyssey, Bks. 11, 12, 2/6; Odyssey, Bks. 13, 14, 2/6; Odyssey, Bk. 17, 1/6.

HORACE—Epistles, 3/6; Epodes, 1/6; Odes, 3/6; Odes, (each Book) 1/6; *Satires, 4/6.

ISOCRATES—De Bigis, 2/6.

JUVENAL—Satires, 1, 3, 4, 3/6; Satires, 8, 10, 13, 2/6; Satires, 11, 13, 14, 3/6.

LIVY—Bks. 1, 5, 21, (each) 2/6; Bks. 3, 6, 9 (each), 3/6; Bk. 21, Ch. 1-30, 1/6; Bk. 22, Ch. 1-51, 2/6.

LUCIAN—*Charon and Timon, 3/6.

LYSIAS—Eratosthenes and Agoratus, 3/6.

NEPOS—Hannibal, Cato, Atticus, 1/0.

OVID—Fasti, Bks. 3, 4, 2/6; Heroides, 1, 5, 12, 1/6; Metamorphoses, Bk. 1, 1-150, Bks. †1, 11, 13, 14, (each) 1/6; Tristia, Bks. 1, 3, (each Book) 1/6.

PLATO—Apology, Ion, Laches, Phaedo, (each) 3/6.

SALLUST—Catiline, 2/6.

SOPHOCLES—Ajax, 3/6; Antigone, 2/6; Electra, 3/6.

TACITUS—Annals, Bk. 1, 3/6; Annals, Bk. 2, 2/6; Histories, Bk. 1., 3/6.

TERENCE—Adelphi, 3/6.

THUCYDIDES—Bk. 7, 3/6.

VERGIL—Aeneid, Books 1-12, (each) 1/6; Eclogues, 3/6; Georgics, Bks. 1, 2, 3/6.

XENOPHON—Anabasis, Bk. 1, 1/6; Anabasis, Bk. 4, 3/6; Cyropaedeia, Bk. 1, 3/6; Hellenica, Bk. 3, 3/6; Hellenica, Bk. 4, 3/6; Oeconomicus, 4/6.

A detailed catalogue of the above can be obtained on application.

Latin and Greek.

GRAMMARS AND READERS.

The Tutorial Greek Reader. With VOCABULARIES. By A. WAUGH YOUNG, M.A. Lond., Gold Medallist in Classics, Assistant Examiner at the University of London. *Second Edition.* 2s. 6d.

The Tutorial Greek Grammar. [*In preparation.*

Higher Greek Reader: A Course of 132 Extracts from the best writers, in Three Parts, with an appendix containing the Greek Unseens set at B.A. Lond. 1877-1897. 3s. 6d.

The Tutorial Latin Dictionary. By F. G. PLAISTOWE, M.A. Lond. and Camb., Gold Medallist in Classics, late Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. 6s. 6d.

"A good specimen of elementary dictionary-making."—*Educational Times.*
"A sound school dictionary."—*Speaker.*

The Tutorial Latin Grammar. By B. J. HAYES, M.A. Lond. and Camb., and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. *Third Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"Practical experience in teaching and thorough familiarity with details are plainly recognisable in this new Latin Grammar."—*Educational News.*

"It is accurate and full without being overloaded with detail, and varieties of type are used with such effect as to minimise the work of the learner. Tested in respect of any of the crucial points, it comes well out of the ordeal."—*Schoolmaster.*

The Tutorial Latin Grammar, Exercises and Test Questions on. By F. L. D. RICHARDSON, B.A. Lond., and A. E. W. HAZEL, LL.D., M.A., B.C.L. 1s. 6d.

"This will be found very useful by students preparing for University examinations."—*Westminster Review.*

The Preceptors' Latin Course. By B. J. HAYES, M.A. [*In the press.*

Latin Composition AND SYNTAX. With copious EXERCISES. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and J. H. HAYDON, M.A. Lond. and Camb. *Fourth Edition.* 2s. 6d.

"This useful little book."—*Journal of Education.*

"Simplicity of statement and arrangement: apt examples illustrating each rule; exceptions to these adroitly stated just at the proper place and time, are among some of the striking characteristics of this excellent book."—*Schoolmaster.*

"The clearness and concise accuracy of this book throughout are truly remarkable."—*Education.*

Higher Latin Composition. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. [*In preparation.*

The Tutorial Latin Reader. With VOCABULARY. 2s. 6d.

"A soundly practical work."—*Guardian.*

Advanced Latin Unseens: Being a Higher Latin Reader. Edited by H. J. MAIDMENT, M.A. Lond. and Oxon., and T. R. MILLS, M.A. Oxon. 3s. 6d.

"A work which will be found generally useful by students. The notes are valuable."—*Westminster Review.*

"Contains some good passages, which have been selected from a wider field than that previously explored by similar manuals."—*Cambridge Review.*

Roman and Greek History.

The Tutorial History of Rome. (To 14 A.D.) By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. With Maps. 3s. 6d.

"It is well and clearly written."—*Saturday Review.*

The Tutorial History of Greece. (To 323 B.C.) By W. J. WOODHOUSE. M.A. Oxon. [*In preparation.*

A Longer History of Rome. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond., and others (each volume contains an account of the Literature of the Period)—

390—202 B.C. 4s. 6d.	**133—78** B.C. 3s. 6d.
287—202 B.C. 3s. 6d.	**78—31** B.C. 3s. 6d.
202—133 B.C. 3s. 6d.	**31** B.C.—**96** A.D. 3s. 6d.

"This volume (133—78 B.C.) gives a vigorous and carefully studied picture of the men and of the time."—*Spectator.*

"Written in a clear and direct style. Its authors show a thorough acquaintance with their authorities, and have also used the works of modern historians to good effect."—*Journal of Education* (on the period 31 B.C.—96 A.D.).

A Longer History of Greece. By A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. Oxon., and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. (each volume contains an account of the Literature of the Period)—

To **495** B.C. 3s. 6d.	**404—362** B.C. 3s. 6d.
495—431 B.C. 3s. 6d.	**371—323** B.C. 3s. 6d.
431—404 B.C. 3s. 6d.	**Sicily, 490—289** B.C. 3s. 6d.

"For those who require a knowledge of the period (to 495 B.C.) no better book could be recommended."—*Educational Times.*

English History.

The Tutorial History of England. By C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. Oxon. 4s. 6d. [*In preparation.*

The Matriculation History of England. By C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. Oxon. (To 1702 A.D.) 3s. 6d.

The Intermediate Text-Book of English History: a Longer History of England. By C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. Oxon., and A. JOHNSON EVANS, M.A. Camb., B.A. Lond. With Maps & Plans.

VOL. I., to 1485 (*In preparation.*) VOL. III., 1603 to 1714. 4s. 6d.
VOL. II., 1485 to 1603. 4s. 6d. VOL. IV., 1714 to 1837. 4s. 6d.

"It is lively; it is exact; the style is vigorous and has plenty of swing; the facts are numerous, but well balanced and admirably arranged."—*Education.*

"The results of extensive reading seem to have been photographed upon a small plate, so that nothing of the effect of the larger scene is lost."—*Teachers' Monthly.*

French.

The Tutorial French Accidence. By ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. Lond., Professor of French, University College, Nottingham. With EXERCISES, and a Chapter on Elementary Syntax. 3s. 6d.

"We can heartily recommend it."—*Schoolmaster.*

The Tutorial French Syntax. By ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. Lond., and A. J. WYATT, M.A. Lond. & Camb. With Exercises. 3s. 6d.

"It is a decidedly good book and should have a ready sale."—*Guardian.*

"Mr. Weekley has produced a clear, full, and careful Grammar in the 'Tutorial French Accidence,' and the companion volume of Syntax,' by himself and Mr. Wyatt, is worthy of it."—*Saturday Review.*

The Tutorial French Grammar. Containing the *Accidence* and the *Syntax* in One Volume. 4s. 6d.

The Preceptors' French Course. By E. WEEKLEY, M.A. Lond. 2s. 6d.

"The execution is distinctly an advance on similar courses."—*Journal of Education.*

"A clear and satisfactory book on the elements of French Grammar. The use of tenses and irregular verbs are well treated, and the exercises well chosen."—*Academy.*

"A practical work, which will be most helpful to students preparing for examinations. Both the rules and the exercises set upon them are concise and much to the point."—*Educatoinal Review.*

French Prose Composition. By E. WEEKLEY, M.A. Lond. 3s. 6d.

"The arrangement is lucid, the rules clearly expressed, the suggestions really helpful, and the examples carefully chosen."—*Educational Times.*

"We like the plan and arrangement of this book, which will be welcome to London candidates and more advanced students."—*Guardian.*

"A good book."—*Westminster Review.*

"A handy and trustworthy guide. The practical hints are excellent."—*St. James's Budget.*

The Preceptors' French Reader. By ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. Lond. With Notes and Vocabulary. *Second Edition.* 1s. 6d.

"A very useful first reader with good vocabulary and sensible notes."—*Schoolmaster.*

French Prose Reader. Edited by S. BARLET, B. ès Sc., Examiner in French to the College of Preceptors, and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. With Notes and Vocabulary. *Third Edition.* 2s. 6d.

"Admirably chosen extracts. They are so selected as to be thoroughly interesting and at the same time thoroughly illustrative of all that is best in French literature." —*School Board Chronicle.*

Advanced French Reader: Containing passages in prose and verse representative of all the modern Authors. Edited by S. BARLET, B. ès Sc., Examiner in French to the College of Preceptors, and W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. *Second Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"Chosen from a large range of good modern authors, the book provides excellent practice in 'Unseens.'"—*Schoolmaster.*

Higher French Reader. Edited by ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A. 3s. 6d.

"The passages are well chosen, interesting in themselves, and representative of the best contemporary stylists."—*Journal of Education.*

English Language and Literature.

The English Language: Its History and Structure. By W. H. Low, M.A. Lond. With Test Questions. *Fifth Edition.* 3s. 6d.

Contents:—The Relation of English to other Languages—Survey of the Chief Changes that have taken place in the Language—Sources of our Vocabulary—The Alphabet and the Sounds of English—Grimm's Law—Gradation and Mutation—Transposition, Assimilation, Addition and Disappearance of Sounds in English—Introductory Remarks on Grammar—The Parts of Speech, etc.—Syntax—Parsing and Analysis—Metre—320 Test Questions.

"A clear workmanlike history of the English language done on sound principles." —*Saturday Review.*

"The author deals very fully with the source and growth of the language. The parts of speech are dealt with historically as well as grammatically. The work is scholarly and accurate."—*Schoolmaster.*

"The history of the language and etymology are both well and fully treated."—*Teachers' Monthly.*

"Aptly and cleverly written."—*Teachers' Aid.*

"The arrangement of the book is devised in the manner most suited to the student's convenience, and most calculated to impress his memory."—*Lyceum.*

"It is in the best sense a scientific treatise. There is not a superfluous sentence." —*Educational News.*

The Preceptors' English Grammar. With numerous Exercises. By W. H. Low, M.A. Lond., and Arnold Wall, M.A. Lond. [*In the press.*

The Intermediate Text-Book of English Literature. By W. H. Low, M.A. Lond., and A. J. Wyatt, M.A. Lond. and Camb.

Part I. (to 1660), 3s. 6d.; Part II. (1660-1832), 3s. 6d.

"Really judicious in the selection of the details given."—*Saturday Review.*

"A very readable and lucid account of the literature of the time."—*Literary World.*

"A serviceable student's digest of an important period in our literature."—*Schoolmaster.*

"This volume seems both well-informed and clearly written. The illustrative selections are very happily chosen. Those who need a handbook of literature will not readily find a more workmanlike example of this size and price."—*Journal of Education.*

"The historical part is concise and clear, but the criticism is even more valuable, and a number of illustrative extracts contribute a most useful feature to the volume. As a compendium for examination purposes this volume ought to take high rank."—*School World.*

"A very serviceable text-book, closely analytic throughout, with fairly safe judgments and adequate provision of specimens. Two more competent editors of a text-book on English authors it would have been difficult to find."—*Educational Times.*

"A well-prepared text-book. In the chapter entitled 'A General Survey of Eighteenth Century Literature' we find not merely research, but much sound criticism."—*Westminster Review.*

English Classics.

Addison.—Essays on Milton, Notes on. By W. H. Low, M.A. 2s.

Chaucer.—Prologue, Knight's Tale. By A. J. WYATT, M.A. Lond. and Camb., with a Glossary by S. J. EVANS, M.A. Lond. 2s. 6d. Also separately, **The Prologue,** 1s.

"The notes are of real value."—*Educational Review.*
"Quite up to date. The Glossary is excellent."—*Morning Post.*

Chaucer.—Man of Lawes Tale, with the PROLOGUE to the CANTERBURY TALES. Edited by A. J. WYATT, M.A. Lond. and Camb., with a GLOSSARY by J. MALINS, M.A. Lond. 2s. 6d.

Dryden.—Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Edited by W. H. LOW, M.A. Lond. *Second Edition.* 3s. 6d.

Goldsmith.—Poems. Edited by AUSTIN DOBSON. 2s. 6d.

Langland.—Piers Plowman. Prologue and Passus I.-VII., Text B. Edited by J. F. DAVIS, D.Lit., M.A. Lond. 4s. 6d.

Milton.—Paradise Regained. Edited by A. J. WYATT, M.A. 2s. 6d.

"The notes are concise and to the point."—*Cambridge Review.*

Milton.—Samson Agonistes. Edited by A. J. WYATT, M.A. 2s. 6d.

"A capital Introduction. The notes are excellent."—*Educational Times.*

Milton.—Sonnets. Edited by W. F. MASOM, M.A. Lond. 1s. 6d.

Shakespeare.—With INTRODUCTION and NOTES, by Prof. W. J. ROLFE, D.Litt., in 40 volumes. 2s. each.

A descriptive catalogue, containing Prof. Rolfe's Hints to Teachers and Students of Shakespeare, can be obtained on application.

Merchant of Venice
Tempest
Midsummer Night's Dream
As You Like It
Much Ado About Nothing
Twelfth Night
Comedy of Errors
Merry Wives of Windsor
Love's Labour's Lost
Two Gentlemen of Verona
The Taming of the Shrew
All's Well that Ends Well
Measure for Measure
Winter's Tale
King John
Richard II.
Henry IV. Part I.
Henry IV. Part II.
Henry V.
Henry VI. Part I.
Henry VI. Part II.
Henry VI. Part III.
Richard III.
Henry VIII.
Romeo and Juliet
Macbeth
Othello
Hamlet
King Lear
Cymbeline
Julius Caesar
Coriolanus
Antony and Cleopatra
Timon of Athens
Troilus and Cressida
Pericles
The Two Noble Kinsmen
Titus Andronicus
Venus and Adonis
Sonnets

This edition is recommended by Professor Dowden, Dr. Abbott, and Dr. Furnivall.

Shakespeare.—Henry VIII. Edited by W. H. LOW, M.A. Lond. 2s.

Shelley.—Prometheus Unbound. Edited by V. D. SCUDDER, M.A. With Test Questions, by J. W. H. ATKINS, B.A. Lond. 3s. 6d.

Spenser.—Faerie Queene, Book I. Edited with INTRODUCTION. NOTES, and GLOSSARY, by W. H. HILL, M.A. Lond. 2s. 6d.

Mental and Moral Science.

Ethics, Manual of. By J. S. MACKENZIE, M.A., Professor of Logic and Philosophy in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Examiner in the Universities of Cambridge and Aberdeen. *Third Edition, revised, enlarged, and partly rewritten.* 6s. 6d.

"In writing this book Mr. Mackenzie has produced an earnest and striking contribution to the ethical literature of the time."—*Mind.*

"This excellent manual."—*International Journal of Ethics.*

"Mr. Mackenzie may be congratulated on having presented a thoroughly good and helpful guide to this attractive, yet elusive and difficult, subject."—*Schoolmaster.*

"Mr. Mackenzie's book is as nearly perfect as it could be. The pupil who masters it will find himself equipped with a sound grasp of the subject such as no one book with which we are acquainted has hitherto been equal to supplying."—*Literary World.*

"Written with lucidity and an obvious mastery of the whole bearing of the subject."—*Standard.*

Logic, A Manual of. By J. WELTON, M.A. Lond. and Camb. 2 vols. Vol. I., *Second Edition*, 8s. 6d.; Vol. II., 6s. 6d.

This book embraces all those portions of the subject which are usually read, and renders unnecessary the purchase of the numerous books hitherto used. The relative importance of the sections is denoted by variety of type, and a minimum course of reading is thus indicated.

Vol. I. contains the whole of Deductive Logic, except Fallacies, which are treated, with Inductive Fallacies, in Vol. II.

"A clear and compendious summary of the views of various thinkers on important and doubtful points."—*Journal of Education.*

"A very good book . . . not likely to be superseded for a long time to come."—*Educational Review.*

"Unusually complete and reliable. The arrangement of divisions and subdivisions is excellent."—*Schoolmaster.*

"The manual may be safely recommended."—*Educational Times.*

Psychology, A Manual of. By G. F. STOUT, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy in the University of Oxford, Examiner in Mental and Moral Science in the University of London. 8s. 6d.

"It is unnecessary to speak of this work except in terms of praise. There is a refreshing absence of sketchiness about the book, and a clear desire manifested to help the student in the subject."—*Saturday Review.*

"The book is a model of lucid argument, copious in its facts and will be invaluable to students of what is, although one of the youngest, perhaps the most interesting of the sciences."—*Critic.*

"The student's task will be much lightened by the lucidity of the style and the numerous illustrative facts, which together make the book highly interesting."—*Literary World.*

Mathematics and Mechanics.

Algebra, A Middle. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. 3s. 6d.

Algebra, The Tutorial. Part I. ELEMENTARY COURSE. *In the press.* Part II. ADVANCED COURSE. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., F.R.S. 6s. 6d.

"Every teacher of mathematics should possess this volume, and we hope that the impulse that it gives will revolutionise the teaching of algebra."—*Oxford Magazine.*

"All the theorems usually associated with advanced algebra are here given, with proofs of remarkable force and clearness."—*Schoolmaster.*

Astronomy, Elementary Mathematical. By C. W. C. BARLOW, M.A., Lond. and Camb., B.Sc. Lond., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. *Second Edition*, with Answers. 6s. 6d.

"Probably within the limits of the volume no better description of the methods by which the marvellous structure of scientific astronomy has been built up could have been given."—*Athenæum.*

Book-keeping, Practical Lessons in. Adapted to the requirements of the Society of Arts, London Chamber of Commerce, Oxford and Cambridge Locals, etc. By T. C. JACKSON, B.A., LL.B. 3s. 6d.

"A well arranged and well explained treatise, adapted for use in schools, and for commercial and other candidates."—*Educational Times.*

"This work is one which is well-adapted for teaching purposes, containing as it does a considerable number of useful examples and decidedly lucid descriptions."—*The Accountant.*

Coordinate Geometry: Part I. The Right Line and Circle. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. *Third Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"It is thoroughly sound throughout, and indeed deals with some difficult points with a clearness and accuracy that has not, we believe, been surpassed."—*Education.*

Coordinate Geometry: Part II. The Conic. By J. H. GRACE, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and F. ROSENBERG, M.A. Camb., B.Sc. Lond. 4s. 6d.

"The chapters on systems of conics, envelopes, and harmonic section are a valuable addition to scholarship students. The book fully maintains the reputation of the series."—*Guardian.*

Dynamics, The Tutorial. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., F.C.S., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. 3s. 6d.

"This volume seems in every way most suitable for the use of beginners, the initial difficulties being fully explained and abundantly illustrated."—*Journal of Education.*

Euclid.—Books I.-IV. By RUPERT DEAKIN, M.A. Lond. and Oxon., Headmaster of Stourbridge Grammar School. 2s. 6d. Also separately: Books I., II., 1s.

"The propositions are well set out, and useful notes are added. The figures and letterpress are both well printed."—*Cambridge Review.*

"The teacher of Euclid who may found his teaching on the model here provided can hardly fail of success."—*Schoolmaster.*

Geometry of Similar Figures and the Plane. (Euclid VI. and XI.) With numerous Deductions worked and unworked. By C. W. C. BARLOW, M.A., B.Sc., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., F.R.S. 2s. 6d.

Mathematics and Mechanics—*continued.*

Hydrostatics, An Elementary Text-Book of. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., F.C.S., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., F.R.S. *Second Edition.* 2s.

"The work is thoroughly sound. The earlier chapters are models of lucidity. The hand of the practical teacher is manifest throughout."—*Educational Review.*

"An excellent text-book."—*Journal of Education.*

"The diagrams and illustrations are all very practical. The text is written so as to give a clear and systematised knowledge of the subject."—*Schoolmaster.*

Mechanics, An Elementary Text-Book of. By the same authors. *Second Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"It is a good book—clear, concise, and accurate."—*Journal of Education.*

"Affords beginners a thorough grounding in dynamics and statics."—*Knowledge.*

"A most useful and helpful manual."—*Educational Review.*

Mechanics, The Preceptors'. By F. ROSENBERG, M.A., B.Sc. 2s. 6d.

"The book possesses all the usual characteristics and good qualities of its fellows."—*Schoolmaster.*

"A practical book for this subject. It will be found exceedingly useful."—*Educational News.*

Mensuration of the Simpler Figures. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., F.C.S., F.R.A.S., and T. W. EDMONDSON, M.A. Camb., B.A. Lond. *Third Edition.* 2s. 6d.

Mensuration and Spherical Geometry: Being Mensuration of the Simpler Figures and the Geometrical Properties of the Sphere. Specially intended for London Inter. Arts and Science. By the same authors. *Third Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"The book comes from the hands of experts; we can think of nothing better qualified to enable the student to master this branch of the syllabus, and to promote a correct style in his mathematical manipulations."—*Schoolmaster.*

Statics, The Tutorial. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. 3s. 6d.

"This is a welcome addition to our text-books on Statics. The treatment is sound, clear, and interesting, and in several cases the familiar old proofs are simplified and improved."—*Journal of Education.*

Trigonometry, The Preceptors'. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. 2s. 6d.

"The book meets excellently the wants of the student reading for the College of Preceptors' examination. The explanations are clear, and the illustrative examples well selected."—*Guardian.*

Trigonometry, The Tutorial. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S., and G. H. BRYAN, Sc.D., M.A., F.R.S. 3s. 6d.

"An excellent text-book."—*School Guardian.*

"The book is very thorough."—*Schoolmaster.*

Trigonometry, Synopsis of Elementary. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.R.A.S. *Interleaved.* 1s. 6d.

Physics.

THE TUTORIAL PHYSICS. By R. WALLACE STEWART, D.Sc. Lond., First in First Class Honours in Physics at B.Sc., and E. CATCHPOOL, B.Sc. Lond., qualified for the University Scholarship in Physics. In Four Volumes.

I. Sound, Text-Book of. By E. CATCHPOOL, B.Sc. *2nd Edition.* **3s.6d.**

CONTENTS :—Vibratory Motion—Progressive Undulation—Velocity of Sound—Interference—Forced Vibration—Fourier's Theorem—The Ear and Hearing—Reflection of Sound—Stationary Undulation—Vibration in Pipes—Transverse Undulation—Acoustic Measurements.

II. Heat, Text-Book of. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. *Third Edition.* **3s. 6d.**

CONTENTS :—Thermometry—Expansion of Solids—of Liquids—of Gases—Calorimetry—Liquefaction and Solidification—Vaporisation and Condensation—Hygrometry—Conduction, Convection, Radiation—The First Law of Thermo-Dynamics—Graphic Methods.

III. Light, Text-Book of. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. *Third Edition.* **3s. 6d.**

CONTENTS :—Rectilinear Propagation of Light—Shadows—Photometry—Reflexion at Plane Surfaces—at Spherical Surfaces—Refraction at Plane and Spherical Surfaces—Refraction through Prisms and Lenses—Dispersion—Velocity of Light—Optical Instruments.

IV. Magnetism and Electricity, Text-Book of. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. *Fourth Edition.* **3s. 6d.**

CONTENTS :—Electrification—Electrostatic Induction—Distribution of Electricity—Frictional Electrical Machines—Potential and Capacity—Induction Electrical Machines. Fundamental Magnetic Phenomena—Terrestrial Magnetism—Magnetic Measurements. General Effetcs of Currents—Magnetic Effects—Ohm's Law—Chemical Effects—Heating Effects—Magneto-Electric Induction—Thermo-Electricity.

"There are numerous books on acoustics, but few cover exactly the same ground as this (*Sound*), or are more suitable introductions to a study of the subject."—*Nature.*

"Clear, concise, well arranged, and well illustrated, and, as far as we have tested, accurate."—*Journal of Education* (*on Heat*).

"The style of the book (*Light*) is simple, the matter well arranged, and the underlying principles of the subjects treated of accurately and concisely set forth."—*Educational Review.*

"Mr. Wallace Stewart, in his *Text-Book of Magnetism and Electricity*, maintains the high level of excellency which his already published science text-books possess."—*Literary Opinion.*

HEAT AND LIGHT, ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK OF. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. Lond. *Third Edition.* **3s. 6d.**

"A welcome addition to a useful series."—*School Guardian.*

Heat, Elementary Text-Book of. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. Lond. **2s.**

Light, Elementary Text-Book of. By R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. **2s.**

Sound, Elementary Text-Book of. By JOHN DON, M.A., B.Sc. **1s. 6d.**

Chemistry.

Analysis of a Simple Salt. With a Selection of Model Analyses, and TABLES OF ANALYSIS (on linen). By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S., and R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. Lond. *Fourth Edition.* 2s. 6d. TABLES OF ANALYSIS (separately). 6d.

"The selection of model analyses is an excellent feature."—*Educational Times.*

Chemistry, The Tutorial. By G. H. BAILEY, D.Sc. Lond., Ph.D. Heidelberg, Lecturer in Chemistry at Victoria University. Edited by WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., F.C.S.

PART I., NON-METALS. 3s. 6d. PART II., METALS. 3s. 6d.

"The descriptions of experiments and diagrams of apparatus are very good, and with their help a beginner ought to be able to do the experimental work quite satisfactorily."—*Cambridge Review.*

"The merits of the plan on which the book is arranged are undoubted, and the work should commend itself to all students of chemistry."—*Pharmaceutical Journal.*

"We cannot speak too highly of its lucid and concise explanations, its thoroughly scientific treatment, and its eminently practical arrangement and execution."—*Educational News.*

"An excellent treatise, full of well-chosen matter, tritely expressed, and admirably arranged. Amongst the many books on Non-Metals, Dr. Bailey's work takes high rank."—*Practical Teacher.*

"The leading truths and laws of chemistry are here expounded in a most masterly manner; made, in fact, accessible to very moderate capacities."—*Chemical News.*

Carbon Compounds, An Introduction to. By R. H. ADIE, M.A., B.Sc. 2s. 6d.

"The subject-matter of elementary organic chemistry is sketched in both an interesting and profitable manner."—*Guardian.*

"To students who have already a slight elementary acquaintance with the subject this work cannot fail to afford valuable assistance. The experiments are well selected"—*Nature.*

Chemistry, Synopsis of Non-Metallic. With an Appendix on Calculations. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S. *New and Revised Edition, Interleaved.* 1s. 6d.

"Arranged in a very clear and handy form."—*Journal of Education.*

Chemical Analysis, Qualitative and Quantitative. By WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S., and R. W. STEWART, D.Sc. Lond. 3s. 6d.

"The instructions are clear and concise. The pupil who uses this book ought to obtain an intelligible grasp of the principles of analysis."—*Nature.*

"The matter is well and clearly arranged."—*School Guardian.*

"A most careful and reliable compendium of inorganic analysis. The book has our commendation."—*Practical Teacher.*

Metals and their Compounds. By G. H. BAILEY, D.Sc., Ph.D. 1s. 6d.

General Elementary Science.

General Elementary Science. Edited by WILLIAM BRIGGS, M.A., LL.B., F.C.S. *Third Edition.* 3s. 6d.

"Just the book for the London Matriculation. Will be welcomed by thousands." —*Board Teacher.*

"Students entering for the Matriculation Examination of the London University will certainly do well to possess themselves of a copy of this work, which they will find an excellent guide."—*School Guardian.*

"The fact that the first edition of six thousand copies is disposed of affords proof of its popularity and its adaptation to the needs of matriculating students."—*Teachers' Aid.*

"Decidedly above the average of this class of work. The experimental part of the Chemistry is decidedly good."—*Guardian.*

"We can confidently recommend this book as being admirably adapted for its purpose."—*Journal of Education.*

"A book so clear and thorough as the one before us will be very welcome."—*Schoolmaster.*

Biology.

Biology, Text-Book of. With Plates and numerous Questions. By H. G. WELLS, B.Sc. Lond., F.Z.S., F.C.P., with an Introduction by G. B. HOWES, F.L.S., F.Z.S. In Two Parts.

Part I., Vertebrates. *Third Edition.* **2s. 6d.** Part II., Invertebrates and Plants. **2s. 6d.**

Botany, Text-Book of. By J. M. LOWSON, M.A., B.Sc. 6s. 6d.

"It represents the nearest approach to the ideal botanical text-book that has yet been produced."—*Pharmaceutical Journal.*

"An excellent book."—*Guardian.*

"A workmanlike and well graded introduction to the subject."—*Scotsman.*

Zoology, Text-Book of. By H. G. WELLS, B.Sc. Lond., F.Z.S., F.C.P. Enlarged and Revised by A. M. DAVIES, B.Sc. Lond. 6s. 6d.

"The information appears to be well up to date. Students will find this work of the greatest service to them."—*Westminster Review.*

"This book is a distinct success, and should become the standard work for the London Intermediate Examinations. It is carefully written throughout, clear and concise, and yet is extremely interesting reading."—*Glasgow Herald.*

The University Correspondent

AND

UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE COLLEGE MAGAZINE,

Issued every Saturday. Price 1d., by Post 1½d.; Half-yearly Subscription, 3s.; Yearly Subscription, 5s. 6d.

Examination Directories.

Matriculation Directory, with Full Answers to the Examination Papers. (*No. XXVIII. will be published during the fortnight following the Examination of June,* 1900). Nos. VI., VII., IX., XI.—XXI. XXIII., XXVI., XXVII. 1s. each, *net.*